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Reviews of Books

General History

<i>Coulton</i> , FOURSORE YEARS: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY, by A. C. Krey	299
<i>Woodbury</i> , BELOVED SCIENTIST: ELIHU THOMSON, A GUIDING SPIRIT OF THE ELECTRICAL AGE, by Charles F. Scott	301
<i>Rider</i> , THE SCHOLAR AND THE FUTURE OF THE RESEARCH LIBRARY: A PROBLEM AND ITS SOLUTION, by G. S. F.	303
<i>Jacob</i> , SIX THOUSAND YEARS OF BREAD: ITS HOLY AND UNHOLY HISTORY, by C. H. Bailey	304
<i>Marx</i> , STUDIES IN JEWISH HISTORY AND BOOKLORE, by Abraham I. Katsh	305
<i>Elbogen</i> , A CENTURY OF JEWISH LIFE, by Mark Wischnitzer	306

Ancient and Medieval History

<i>Amyx</i> , CORINTHIAN VASES IN THE HEARST COLLECTION AT SAN SIMEON; <i>Smith</i> , THE HEARST HYDRIA: AN ATTIC FOOTNOTE TO CORINTHIAN HISTORY, by Wilhelmina van Ingen Elarth	309
<i>Stillwell, et al.</i> , CORINTH: RESULTS OF EXCAVATIONS CONDUCTED BY THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS, by Sterling Dow	310
<i>Akins</i> , ENGLISH LITERARY CRITICISM: THE MEDIEVAL PHASE, by Hardin Craig	312

Modern European History

<i>Haller</i> , THE LEVELLER TRACTS, 1647-1653; <i>Wolfe</i> , LEVELLER MANIFESTOES OF THE PURITAN REVOLUTION, by Theodore C. Pease	315
<i>White</i> , SOCIAL CRITICISM IN POPULAR RELIGIOUS LITERATURE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY, by Mildred Campbell	316
<i>Batten</i> , JOHN DURY: ADVOCATE OF CHRISTIAN REUNION, by Wilbur C. Abbott	317
<i>Williams</i> , CARTERET AND NEWCASTLE: A CONTRAST IN CONTEMPORARIES, by Lewis P. Curtis	319
<i>Beik</i> , A JUDGMENT OF THE OLD RÉGIME: BEING A SURVEY BY THE PARLEMENT OF PROVENÇE OF FRENCH ECONOMIC AND FISCAL POLICIES AT THE CLOSE OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR, by Beatrice F. Hyslop	320
<i>Gershoy</i> , FROM DESPOTISM TO REVOLUTION, 1763-1789, by Mitchell B. Garrett	322
<i>Elwell</i> , THE INFLUENCE OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT ON THE CATHOLIC THEORY OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN FRANCE, 1750-1850, by Paul Schrecker	323
<i>Parker</i> , THREE NAPOLEONIC BATTLES, by Alfred Vagts	325
<i>Power</i> , JULES FERRY AND THE RENAISSANCE OF FRENCH IMPERIALISM, by Thomas E. Ennis	326
<i>Knorr</i> , BRITISH COLONIAL THEORIES, 1570-1850, by Robert Livingston Schuyler	327

(List of Reviews of Books continued on the inside back cover page)

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* * * * *Table of Contents* * * * *

VOL. L, No. 2

JANUARY, 1945

Articles

BETWEEN SLAVERY AND FREEDOM

William Linn Westermann

213

THE OLNEY-PAUNCEFOTE TREATY OF 1897

Nelson M. Blake

228

LEADERSHIP AND DEMOCRACY IN THE EARLY
NEW ENGLAND SYSTEM OF DEFENSE

Morrison Sharp

244

Documents

SOME BRYCE-JAMESON CORRESPONDENCE

Leo Francis Stock

261

Reviews of Books

(See inside cover pages)

299

Other Recent Publications

382

Historical News

425

The Origins and Background of the Second World War

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The AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

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Between Slavery and Freedom

WILLIAM LINN WESTERMANN*

ON APRIL 18, 1864, at Baltimore, Abraham Lincoln spoke of the vagueness in the customary use of the word liberty.

The world has never had a good definition of liberty, and the American people, just now, are much in need of one. We all declare for liberty; but in using the same word we do not all mean the same thing. With some the word liberty may mean for each man to do as he pleases with himself, and the product of his labor; while with others the same word may mean for some men to do as they please with other men, and the product of other men's labor. Here are two, not only different, but incompatible things, called by the same name, liberty.

This observation of President Lincoln still holds good. There are few words more vague in their connotations, more expansible and more subject to distortion than these two—freedom and slavery. To the ancient Greeks the word *eleutheria* meant a combination of things which they longed to have, longed with all the passion of their vigorous minds. *Douleia* (slavery) was something which they repudiated with all their hearts if it was to be applied

*Presidential address delivered before the American Historical Association at Chicago on December 28, 1944. The author is professor of history in Columbia University.

to themselves, either as a city-state group or as individuals. Just as we do, the Greeks failed to distinguish the political and other collective aspects of freedom and enslavement from their application in the sphere of the individual's choice of his field of personal effort. The Romans did no better than the Greeks in maintaining distinctions between the political, and the individual and legal, applications of their terms *servitus* and *libertas*.

Through the entire range of ancient literature, in fact, one looks in vain for a satisfactory definition of slavery, either as an institution or as a status. The well-known phrase of Aristotle in the *Nichomachean Ethics* that the slave is an implement with a soul is not a definition. It is a description by metaphor of what a slave is, occurring in a closely knit argument regarding friendship and justice in political relations. Friendship, it states, cannot exist between a master and his slave as slave, because the enslaved person is merely a tool of the master's economic life. It may, however, exist between the two in their mutual aspect of human beings.

Equally useless to us as a definition is the statement which Lucius Annaeus Seneca attributes in his essay upon benefits to the Stoic philosopher Chrysippus. "The slave, as Chrysippus says, is a life-long hireling." As quoted thus by Seneca, out of its context, this is a strange remark for Chrysippus to have made. No doubt the context gave it a different meaning. For Greek slaves as handicraftsmen could, indeed, be leased out to others by their owners as hirelings, that is, as wage-earners in the interest of their masters; and this was done in many cases known to us. But they were seldom lifelong hirelings and never hirelings of their own masters.

The title of this address, "Between Slavery and Freedom," is adapted from a statement of the Greek lexicographer, Julius Pollux—*metaxu d'eleutheron kai doulon*: "Between free men and slaves stand the Helots of the Lacedaemonians and the Penestae of the Thessalians." To Pollux, as to the ancient Greeks at large, the world was not a place inhabited solely by free persons and slaves. Between men of these extremes of status stood social classes which lived outside of the boundary of slavery but not yet within the circle of those who might rightly be called free. It is this group of persons, part slave and part free, which it is my purpose here to investigate, primarily in the field of Greek and Roman life to which the phrase of Pollux applies. The concept of slavery, which will here be followed, is that of its precise and limited legal meaning, the complete subjection by ownership of one individual human being to the will of another single human being, or to the will of several persons if the ownership be multiple.

It is not within the scope of the discussion to consider the enslavement of

totalities under political subjections. Nor does it include spiritual peculiarities which insulate groups or individuals from the attainment of liberation from themselves and their inner natures or from the manifold constraints of their own lives and conditions. This is the servitude to oneself which John Galsworthy has described so well at the end of *The Patrician*: "All are in bond to their own natures and what a man has desired shall in the end enslave him." Heraclitus of Ephesus, the Greek whom Galsworthy paraphrased, said it with three words, which can be transferred understandably into English in six: "In his personality lies everyman's fate."

The institution of slavery was a fact of ancient Mediterranean economic life so completely accepted as a part of the labor structure of the time that one cannot correctly speak of a slave "problem" in antiquity. This unquestioning acceptance of the system explains why Plato in his plan of the good life as depicted in the *Republic* did not need to mention the slave class. It was simply there. Just so in the utopias of the Hellenistic political theorists the enslaved are so obviously self-understood that they are not mentioned. The lack in antiquity of any deep abhorrence of slavery as a social and economic evil may be explained in part by another characteristic of the ancient structure of slavery. This is that the change of legal status out of enslavement into liberty, by way of manumission, was as constant and as easy in Greco-Roman life as the reverse transition over the short passage from individual freedom of action into the constraints of nonfreedom; and the methods employed for making either transition were many.

The chance which rules the preservation of our records has determined that one method of manumission is most completely known to us. Fortunately this one happens to be most illuminating regarding the entire structure of ancient servile conditions. For there still remain, incised upon the walls of the sacred precinct at Delphi, about a thousand well-preserved reports of manumissions by sale to Pythian Apollo. These range in time from 201 B.C. through the following three centuries. The enslaved persons had saved money, earned, of course, with permission of their owners, by overtime work, or by the masters' assignment to the slaves of a portion of their earnings as artisans or workers in their trades, whatever these might be. The slaves could not legally have this money. Nor could they legally make a contract of purchase. Therefore in case of a redemption into liberty by self-purchase the slaves were compelled to resort to trust purchase of themselves, hence of their freedom, by some god. The purpose of the transaction carried on through the god as trustee is often expressly stated. It is recorded as a purchase "for freedom," or "to the end of freedom." It has been the custom to call these operations

"fictitious" or "simulated" sales. It is of some importance to insist that they are trust sales. The documents definitely state this; and in these documents we may see the Greek practice of the trust carried backward to a point a century earlier than its existence in Greek law had heretofore been recognized.

With omission of the annual officials and names of witnesses the following example is a characteristic manumission, dated in the year 154-153 B.C., with immediate effect of complete liberation:

Crato, son of Mesateus . . . has sold to Pythian Apollo a female slave named Irene, Armenian by race, for three minas silver; and he has received the price in full. Guarantor [of the sale], Nicarchus, son of Erato, according as Irene has entrusted the purchase to the god, to the end that she is free and not subject to seizure by anybody, doing whatever she may wish, and running off to whomsoever she may wish. Witnesses.

The names of the witnesses are given. This formula seems to have been devised at Delphi by the local priests of Apollo. One finds in their analysis of individual liberty, clearly stated in several hundred documents, that they conceived of individual liberty as the possession of four things. The first two are legal status as a protected member of the community and immunity from arbitrary seizure or arrest. Roughly speaking, this protection from arbitrary seizure is the equivalent of the right of habeas corpus in the English common law. The Greek language compresses it into a single comprehensive adjective. The ex-slave is now *anephaptos*, in literal translation meaning "unseizable."

The third and fourth of these elements are privileges, rather than intrinsic rights, which the free man enjoys. He may work at whatever he desires to do. In other words, it is his right to choose his own line of economic activity, an option of the employee which is now called "occupational mobility." The fourth privilege opened up to the person freed is that of movement according to his own choice. The literal translation of the phrase expressing this is that he may "run away to whomsoever he may wish." Obviously the verb "to run away" is a residuum or a reminiscence of the former condition of servitude of the new freedman. For this element of the four Delphic freedoms we may use the differentiating phrase "spatial mobility." In the Delphic manumissions the Greek phrase is again characteristically simple. Sometimes it is expressed in the form that the freedman may house where he desires. More rarely it is said that he may dwell in whatever city-state he wishes. To the Delphic priests, therefore, individual liberty consisted of the possession of four freedoms—status, personal inviolability, freedom of economic activity, right of unrestricted movement. Conversely, in their assessment, slavery was the lack of these four attributes.

About one fourth of the Delphic grants of liberty present trust sales to the god and contain a contractual arrangement between the new freedman and his former master, called in the Greek a *paramoné* clause. The freed person therein agrees to continue to carry on certain services toward his former owner. Most frequently these obligations are contractually set for the life expectancy of the owner who had sold his slave in trust to the god. As a matter of fact these life expectancies were customarily reduced to a period of from two to ten years, as we know from more than twenty releases of freedmen from their contractual undertakings for the former owner.

Manumissions of this type are seldom to be explained as “deferred” or “suspended” grants of liberty as they are commonly called by modern scholars. They approximate more closely the obligations assumed by the indentured servants of American colonial days. In the Greek temple manumissions the services actually represent a part of the payment made by the freedman for his liberty. Only the salient parts of a typical example of such a manumission with continuing bondage services can be given here:

Theuxenus, son of Technon, an Amphisian has sold to Pythian Apollo a woman slave named Stration, born in Apamea, under the following conditions. The price paid is five minas silver, according as Stration has entrusted the purchase to the god to the end that she is free and not subject to seizure. . . . Let Stration be in *paramoné* [indentured service] with Theuxenus so long as Theuxenus may live, doing everything that is ordered, insofar as she is able, without complaint. If she should not do anything of what has been ordered by Theuxenus when she is able to do so, let it be possible for Theuxenus to punish her as he may wish. . . . And if Theuxenus should die, let Stration be free, having full control of herself and doing whatever she may wish and running away to whomsoever she may wish, just as Stration entrusted the purchase to the god.

In this typical manumission with contractual *paramoné* clause it is significant that mobility is recognized as a legal right. The freedwoman, Stration, has agreed to accept restrictions upon her exercise of this right for the duration of the period of her indenture. In order to carry out the obligations to her former owner, which she had undertaken, she must continue to reside in the city or town in which her ex-owner lived, as in many similar *paramoné* manumissions.

Working backward into the history of Greek slavery it becomes apparent from Thucydides that the Greeks of the fifth pre-Christian century had already adopted the view that spatial mobility was a right of importance to those who had it and a formidable lack to those who had it not. As Pollux said seven centuries later: “Between free men and slaves stand the Helots of the Lacedaemonians and the Penestae of the Thessalians.” It was generally conceded that the bondage of the half-free Helots of Lacedaemonia was more

onerous than full enslavement at Athens or about Delphi. Against the full slaves there was no such savage application of the doctrine of frightfulness as, for example, was displayed against the Spartan Helots. For each year the Ephors declared war upon the Helots so that these officials might initiate martial law in dealing with the group without being called to account later for a military action not approved by the Spartiates. Under ordinary circumstances deprivation of their right to move was the bond employed in constraining them. This is clear in Thucydides' account of the reward given to those Helots who had fought courageously in a Thracian campaign in 424 B.C. The Spartan Apella voted that those Helots who had fought with Brasidas "should be free and should dwell wherever they wished." Since they had already a recognized status under their Helot condition, the new element of the freedom given to them was their right of movement, collectively applied.

When writing his *State of the Laws*, Plato showed that he was conversant with manumissions with continuing bondage services, though he would have them granted by civil action, not by trust purchase through a god. Manumissions of this class actually are handed down in the wills of the philosophers of the Peripatetic School—Aristotle, Straton, Lycon, and others. In these testaments the liberations were effected by voluntary action of the slave owners.

It is this *paramoné* manumission which explains a statement of Aristotle to the effect that craftsmen, meaning free artisans, live in a condition of limited slavery. He did not need to amplify the idea for his Greek readers. Expanded it meant that the artisan, when he made a work contract, disposed of two of the four elements of his free status, but by his own volition and for a temporary period. The whole concept of labor and life involved is peculiarly Greek. Men are not completely free, said Herodotus, because "law is a master standing over them." Under the Greek idea freedom and enslavement merged one into the other over a vast part of life. Dion of Prusa, living at the turn of the first Christian century, was not a philosopher of first-rate quality. For that precise reason he is useful to us. In his essay "Regarding Slavery and Freedom" Dion says: "Tens of thousands of people who are free sell themselves so that they are contractually enslaved, sometimes on terms which are not very easy, but are very harsh in all respects." This is the attitude of a man, of a better than average training, from the Hellenistic eastern Mediterranean. It should not be surprising, therefore, when we read in the decrees of the Macedonian Ptolemies, who ruled Egypt after Alexander, about "debtor slaves who are free," or when they speak of the purchase in

their Palestinian dependency, of "free persons of the lower class who are slaves." Where the line of cleavage is so lightly marked the concepts of free and enslaved flow with easy transition one into the other. The revenue laws of the second Ptolemy, entitled Philadelphus, were put into effect in 259-258 B.C. They set up a group of state monopolies, including oil production and banking, with a partial monopoly in the field of textiles. In these laws the nome (provincial) officials were enjoined not to permit the men appointed to work in the processing shops of the government oil monopoly to move out of the nome in which they worked. If they should cross over from one nome to another they were subject to arrest by the concessionaire who held the contract to produce the oil in that shop or by the higher nome officials. These employees in the oil monopoly were free men, working under a contract with the government; but their mobility, both occupational and spatial, was restricted to the nome in which each one of them lived.

In the case of still another free group, and in this case one numerically much larger, the Ptolemies again set up legal limitations upon the right of movement of their subjects. These were the royal peasants who worked, under contract, the agricultural lands of the Ptolemaic god-kings. In their contracts the peasants swore upon oath that they would remain each year upon the farm lands which they worked from the time of the plowing and sowing through the time of delivery in kind of their rent. Out of a document dated 107 B.C. the following translation of the peasants' oath is taken: "I will be visible daily for you and for the agents of the Queen, remaining in the places [designated] for those engaged in working the soil, without recourse to temple refuge or to any secular protector." The obligation to work, that is, the binding of the peasant to his occupation as state farmer, is here a consequence of, and inseparable from, his physical fixation at a given place.

In still other ways the situation in Greco-Roman Egypt reflects the fact that the limitation of the privilege of free movement was a vital principle in the process of adjustment of the relations between the Egyptian state and its subjects. In those Egyptian marriage contracts, for instance, which are specifically Greek in character, the wife often agrees not to absent herself from the home by day or by night without her husband's consent, a provision which appears to be wholly economic in its motivation.

The recluses, called *katochoi*, in the precinct of the Serapis temple were persons who isolated themselves from the world by devoting to the god their right of free movement. Voluntarily they restricted themselves to residence in the sacred precinct until they should receive again from the god their option of going whither they pleased. Significantly, the word for their release by

the god from their local fixation is the precise technical term which is used in the Delphic manumissions when a freedman under bondage services is liberated from the infringements, to which he had agreed, upon his economic activities and his privilege of free movement. In both cases the Greek word for the release is *apolysis*.

With every people among whom arise the problems of liberty and encroachments upon liberty, the free choices and the negations of these free choices which distinguished freedom from nonfreedom must necessarily differ. In Roman slavery a surprising alteration presents itself in the concept and the discussions of enslavement from those which the Greeks had developed. Among the Romans one fails to find any trace of emphasis upon freedom of movement as a part of the idea of liberty. This Roman failure to assert the importance of the concept of mobility is strikingly conveyed in the definition of liberty which emanates from the legalist Florentinus, writing somewhere in the period 140–220 A.D. "Liberty," said Florentinus, "is the natural capacity of doing what each person pleases unless he is prohibited from so doing either by force or by law." Here the Greek idea of unhampered mobility as one of the ingredients of freedom is completely lacking.

In his *Elementa Philosophica de Cive* Thomas Hobbes averred that slavery, in all of its forms, might be expressed entirely in terms of freedom of movement. If, then, the privilege of unobstructed movement seemed so important a factor in the substance of human liberty to the Delphic priests and to Thomas Hobbes, why does it fail to appear in Roman legislation and Roman discussions of slavery? The answer seems to lie in the fundamental position of the *familia* in Roman society. This structure of the great household, including the wife, all the children, the clients, and slaves, lay under the supreme authority of the *pater familias*. The Roman legalists came to define this power, as it was exercised over his wife and the blood members of the family, as *patria potestas*, over the slaves of the great household as *dominica potestas*, or owner's authority. When a slave was manumitted, as freedman he moved into a position similar to that of a client in the family organization. His former *dominus* became his *patronus*. The *pater familias* had controlled the work services and the movements of his slaves. Also the clients of his household were indirectly affected in their freedom to move by the custom of salutation of the *patronus* at his place of residence at fixed intervals. Since the freedman now rose out of the level of his former servile domination into the range of the patronal domination of the clients it was an easy shift of the control over his right of movement from the old *dominica potestas* to the patronal authority which the head of the household maintained over his clientage.

At some time in the later Republic Roman legislation fixed upon a term called *obsequium*, reverent obedience, to characterize the correct attitude of the freedman toward his former owner. It also fixed in precise terms what the bondage services were to be which were required of all freedmen. These were called *operae*. As compared with the contractual agreement between the former slave-owner and his present freedman in the Greek *paramoné* manumission the Roman statutory fixation of these services was rigid. Both the reverent obedience and the labor services were to endure throughout the life expectancy of the freedman. It is this Roman rigidity which explains, since it created them, a number of fundamental differences between Roman slavery and manumission and their results from those developed among the Greeks. The Greek slave, for example, if owned by two masters, could be freed in the part owned by one of them and retained in enslavement in that part belonging to the other. Half slave, half free. Roman law refused to recognize partial freedom. Part slave, full slave, was an accepted dictum of the Roman law.

The Romans, whether this explanation be right or wrong, paid not the slightest attention to mobility. Slaves could not have it. Freedmen and clients simply did not have it. Despite this complete neglect of mobility in their theory, in the highly co-ordinated system of the empire the Romans in their ruling practice came, in the end, to the point of binding the great mass of their free subjects to their jobs, and thereby to the places of their domicile, through statutory restrictions upon that very feature which they failed to recognize. This fact has long since been presented in his brilliant studies of the Roman colonate, published in his younger manhood by a former president of our Association, Professor Rostovtzeff. The peasants of the empire were eventually nailed down at the place of their *origo*, their nativity. Then came, in its turn, the binding of the *collegiae*, the craftsmen groups. By long custom these skilled craftsmen had tended to associate, naturally enough, by local groups belonging to the same town or city. The first step was to bind them to the towns in which they worked, to the places of their legal residence. In an imperial constitution one reads: "To the members of the workingmen's corporations it is not permitted to live beyond the boundaries of their city." The right to move away was gone from the craft workers.

Thus the fiscal system of the Roman Empire bound its farmers and handicraftsmen to their work by restricting their mobility to the places of their domicile. Thereafter it fixed the well-to-do classes also to the locale of their responsibility, which was that of collecting the taxes in their districts and of paying these in to the state officials. The social structure thus created was not a slave system. It seems more aptly to fall within the scope of "involun-

tary servitude" as that term is used in the thirteenth amendment to our Constitution. Without question it widened enormously the expanse of the social and economic area between slavery and freedom and confined therein a much greater proportion of the subject population than ancient slavery had ever done.

From 154 A.D. we have a decree of the Roman prefect of Egypt regarding persons who had left their native districts during a peasant revolt in order to escape the burdens of compulsory government services. The prefect ordered such persons to return to their homes and not to wander about in parts of Egypt foreign to them, like hearthless and homeless men, leading lives of wretched brigandage. If they should not return, as directed, they were to be arrested and sent to him for punishment. This is a characteristic example of the way in which the empire, in its eastern sectors, put its clamps upon the mobility of its free, non-Roman subjects.

The Greek term for the *coloni* of the eastern part of the empire was *enapographoi georgoi*, meaning only "registered farmers." Their registration, and the localization consequent upon it, was one which attached the peasant to the village of his registration. The old Greek term of the indentured freedman's condition—*paramoné*—continues in use in the east regarding these farmers. We have a large body of correspondence between the great estate owners in Egypt, the Apion-Strategus family of the fifth and sixth centuries, with their managers. In these documents the managers sometimes report upon new tenant farmers and give guarantees for their permanence upon the estate. The outstanding clause is invariably the same. The manager engages that the peasant whom he has registered upon the estate will "remain without intermission and spend his time upon his holding with his family and his wife and herds and all his possessions." Sometimes there is this addition: "And never will he leave the same nor go apart into another place." Mention of the services due from him as workman of the estate is rare, always brief in statement, and obviously secondary to the elimination of his right of movement.

Considered also from the point of view of the later imperial constitutions the term commonly applied to these peasants, *ascripti glebae*, and even more its customary translation, "bound to the soil," is none too exact. A decree of Valentinianus, Theodosius, and Arcadius, datable between 384 and 389 A.D., puts it thus: "A law passed by our ancestors detains the *coloni* by a kind of eternal right so that they are not permitted to depart from those places whose fruits nurture them nor to desert those places which they have once undertaken to cultivate." Again, under Honorius and Theodosius an imperial re-

script declares: "We have ordered them so to adhere to the soil that they ought not to be moved away from it for even a moment." Another rescript says: "Granted that they seem, in status, to be free men, nevertheless they are thought to be slaves of the ground for which they have been born and they have not the capacity of departing whither they wish or of changing their places." In all of these imperial decisions it is the loss of self-mobility of the *coloni* which receives emphasis in the legislation.

In Egypt of the sixth and seventh centuries, just preceding the Mohammedan conquest, Greek leases of the peasants dealing with the farms of the great landowners, in the majority of the preserved documents, are extended either for the life expectancy of the tenants, as upon the Apion-Strategus big estates, or for an undefined period terminable only at the will of the big estate owner. In such contracts the *colonus* had no voice about changing his tenantry. He moved out when thrown out.

The restrictions upon individual freedom of movement which seemed so important to the priests of Apollo reappear in the canons of the church respecting manumissions made by members of its priesthood. In 633 A.D. the Council of Toledo ordained that priests might liberate a part of the slaves that they had acquired, "in this wise, that as free persons they remain under patronage of the Church with their *peculia* and their descendants, carrying out the useful services enjoined upon them in full measure as far as they can do so." *Manēre*—"to remain"—is the verb found here, the Latin form of the Greek *paramenein* which appeared in the Delphic manumission formula and in the later Greek developments of the half-free peasants and handicrafters. The compulsory labors in the church canon are limited to the capacity of the freedman to carry them out, again reproducing an idea present in the Delphic formula of the second century B.C.

In symbolic form the acquiring of mobility by a new freedman appears in a Lombard manumission ceremony of the ninth century of our era. The slave who was to be freed was taken by his owner to a crossroad. Thence he was permitted to go upon whichever of the four roads he might choose. This is also found, in explicit expression, in the Lombard documents granting liberty to slaves: "Let him have license and power to walk from the crossroads and live where he may wish." The legal terms of this statement again seem to have been taken over—through Byzantine law, presumably—from the ancient Greek formulas. In Bavarian law the slave, if a Roman, is to proceed through opened gates and depart in whatever direction he may desire to walk. In the Germanic law of Henry I the right is stated thus: "He who manumits his slave . . . is to establish for him roads that are free, assign

open gates and place in his hands a lance and a sword or whatever are the arms of freemen."

The restrictions upon movement applied to the villeins and serfs in the medieval manorial organizations of France and England have long since become textbook clichés. Rarely could the villein leave the plot which he cultivated, at least if he wished to take with him his livestock and other belongings. Throughout the Middle Ages, through the period of declining serfdom into modern times, and spatially from Russia to the British Isles, a similar general pattern reappears, though widely diverging in its details. Fixation of labor by contractual or statutory infringements upon its mobility seems to reappear as a constant of the methods of labor control. Under the Russian and Uigur system of the *kabalas* from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries, debtors bonded themselves or their dependents, in case of default in payment, to serve their creditors in lieu of interest. The engagement entered into is that the bonded person "lives in the family" or the creditors. Again, we have a status of nonfreedom of persons who were fixed in their lives between slavery and freedom and tied by restriction upon choice of habitation, as in the Greek *paramoné* of freedmen.

In early Germanic society, in Poland under the Wisluga system, in Hungary until the right of free movement was restored to the agricultural laborers in 1838, we find the same general method employed for the immobilization of labor, though with manifold differentiations. In all of the groups whose status lay between a fairly complete liberty of action and total enslavement two phenomena are recurrent. The first is that all of the groups had fixed rights which were fully accepted by social custom and legally acknowledged. The second lay in the fact that all of them were either restricted in, or completely deprived of, any right respecting choice of domicile. In all of these manifestations loss of the right to move freely is the common denominator of their partial enslavement.

It may easily happen that restrictions may be placed upon the privilege of voluntary mobility for reasons which lie quite aside from any motivation of labor control and that these may produce results of primary importance, though quite without design, in that precise domain. This occurred, for example, in England in the seventeenth century in the application of the parish poor laws. For fiscal reasons poverty-stricken laborers were not admitted by one parish from another, lest they add to the burden of the local parish relief. As a result of this the poor could not move from their home parishes. Restricted in his right of movement the ordinary laborer was dependent upon the limited opportunities of local employment in his own parish, and his liberties were really controlled by the officials of that parish.

As much as any other discrimination upon them, restrictions upon the right of movement of Negro freedmen in the United States tended to immobilize them in the area between liberty and slavery. In the New England states they remained under the necessity of showing a pass if they wished to go beyond the bounds of the town in which they lived or to appear upon the streets after nine o'clock at night. In some states of the South in the early nineteenth century the conditions imposed upon freedman movement were peculiar, so far as I know, to the American scene. In several states legislative compulsion was put upon the freed Negro requiring that he move. In North Carolina the manumitted Negro was forced, so far as the state laws were concerned, to emigrate from the area of the state's jurisdiction within ninety days after manumission. In Virginia it was within a year. In Tennessee, Alabama, and Florida the time permitted for emigration was not specified in the respective state codes. Application of these laws was practically nullified, it is true, by resort to the right of petition to the county court or to the state legislature. With the support of character recommendations by white persons such petitions for permission to stay were customarily granted, and the colored freedman was permitted to remain in that state in which he had lived as slave.

In some states immigration of free Negroes from other states was forbidden. It was probably because of this elimination of the slaves' ability to move and the restrictions placed upon the Negro freedman's right of mobility that Mr. Justice Joseph P. Bradley, in his opinion written in 1883 upon civil rights cases, was led to recognize the loss of mobility as one of the six "inseparable incidents of the institution of slavery."

In the pursuit of some compelling ideal in times of peace, and more drastically under conditions of warfare, when unusual powers of compulsion are granted to governments, far-reaching restrictions are placed upon individual mobility of all the population and accepted almost without complaint. Although these restrictions must often, in wartimes, be decreed without consultation with those against whom they apply, nevertheless in democracies they are to be regarded, in principle, as imposed by general consent. Under powers of compulsion acceded to by their subjects the governments of the United States and Great Britain have, for the period of the war, placed important checks upon the free movement of their populations. In Britain mobilization and transfer of its labor potential by government, both spatially and occupationally, has been carried out upon a wide scale. In the United States the limitations upon mobility imposed upon our people have not been onerous, applying chiefly to the free right of travel of the general public.

Quite aside from the imperious compulsions of the war effort, in the last

two decades infringements upon the mobility of employees have been appearing in the United States which have projected the problem of the right of free movement into a new sphere. The locale of this projection lies entirely outside the boundaries of slavery and quite beyond the limits of anything which can correctly be classed as helotage. It may serve, however, to emphasize the historical continuance of restrictions upon spatial mobility as a method which is constantly and easily employed in the field of the relations between labor, whether free or enslaved, and those who employ labor. The new application appears in the adoption by some of the labor unions in the United States, under agreement with the employing companies, of the seniority rule. Under this type of agreement seniority in the plant or, in other cases, in a department of the plant, determines the question of the lay-off and of rehiring upon the job when business revives. One who accepts a position in another shop loses the seniority which he had in his previous job and plant. At the first depression affecting the trade in which he is engaged he may be laid off along with any junior in the new plant. The desire for security in the job dictates the result that the seniority rule tends to operate against the union member's desire to move from his present job or to change his domicile to a new locality in search of better conditions of living and of employment.

The sovereign states signatory to the Slavery Convention adopted by the assembly of the League of Nations in 1926 pledged themselves to abolish slavery "progressively and as soon as possible" and "to prevent compulsory and enforced labor from developing into conditions analogous to slavery." By these words they recognized the continued existence of actual slavery and that conditions of labor compulsion were at hand which lie just beyond the boundaries of enslavement—and further that a little change might transform these into slave conditions. "Between free men and slaves stand the Helots and the Penestae." According to the intent and application of this phrase of Julius Pollux, slavery and even helotage, which lies just beyond the periphery of enslavement, have disappeared in most parts of our modern world in the sense that they are no longer condoned or accepted by advanced world opinion. The vocabulary of the slave system, nevertheless, remains in constant use. The ancient words are the same; but their content is different. Except where actual private slavery or semiservile conditions, deriving from labor compulsion, still persist the word enslavement denotes another bundle of restrictions upon personal liberty. Fragile they may be; but they still are shackles—the necessary shackles which bind people together in the unavoidable process of adjustment between human beings who must work together

in their social relations. The necessity of adjustment is the constant in these relations. In the application of this social constant, infringements upon freedom of movement, as applied to individuals or to social groups, are a first recourse of the empowered party in the combination. They may be imposed by external compulsions or they may be self-applied. In either case the free option of movement, as an instrumentality in the process, becomes a vital factor in the stabilizing of the relations between work-giver and worker. As such an instrumentality the priests of Apollo at Delphi isolated it over two thousand years ago and clearly defined the importance of the option of movement as one of the four essentials of human freedom.

The Olney-Pauncefote Treaty of 1897

NELSON M. BLAKE*

FOR several reasons this seems an appropriate time to review the story of the birth and death of the Olney-Pauncefote Treaty. The negotiation of this pioneer agreement to submit to arbitration almost all controversies which might arise between two great nations was a landmark in man's long search for a substitute for force in international relations. The incident occurred, moreover, at an interesting moment in Anglo-American relations. For a century and a quarter before 1897 there had been almost continuous bickering and hostility between the two countries; for a half century thereafter there was to be growing understanding and co-operation. And, finally, the fate of the treaty is illustrative of the difficulties besetting the path of presidents and secretaries of state who try to make a substantial American contribution to the cause of peace.

The treaty was a typical product of nineteenth century liberalism. Since men of good will were coming to hate war, there was a rising demand throughout the Western world for treaties which would commit nations in advance to submit their controversies to arbitral bodies. The movement was strong in both Great Britain and the United States; the House of Commons in 1873 passed a resolution favoring the principle of international arbitration; the two houses of the American Congress followed suit the next year.¹ It was natural to hope that the two English-speaking nations might set an example to the world in agreeing to a general arbitration treaty. Abundant precedent seemed to be offered in the agreements by which the two countries had since 1795 submitted numerous specific issues to decision by either mixed commissions or special arbitral tribunals.

In 1887 Randal Cremer, member of Parliament and organizer of the Peace Society of Working Men, took the initiative in securing signatures for a memorial in favor of an Anglo-American general arbitration treaty. He appealed first to working class representatives in Parliament, but other names proved easy to secure and the document was eventually ornamented with the signatures of 234 members of the House of Commons. A delegation headed by Cremer and Lord Playfair, distinguished scientist and prominent in the

*The author is assistant professor of history at Syracuse University.

¹Merle Curti, *Peace or War: The American Struggle, 1636-1936* (New York, 1936), pp. 94-96.

Liberal party, bore the memorial across the Atlantic and presented it to President Cleveland. Andrew Carnegie, the instant friend of any such appeal on behalf of peace, arranged the details of the interview and probably provided some of the English representatives with their passage money. Cleveland was friendly, though cautious.²

Congress took the matter up again in 1890. Without a dissenting voice, a resolution was passed requesting the President to invite negotiations for a general arbitration treaty with any government with which the United States had diplomatic relations.³ Three years later the House of Commons responded with a resolution, also unanimously adopted, expressing the hope that the British government would co-operate in the project.⁴

Despite the apparent unanimity of opinion in both countries, the diplomats for some time shrank away from the great practical difficulties involved in phrasing an arbitration agreement. Impatient with this laggard statesmanship, 354 members of Parliament signed a second memorial urging the United States government to take the initiative in the matter. This was taken to Washington early in 1895 by the zealous Cremer.

Prospects for a treaty seemed bright. Enthusiastic groups on both sides of the Atlantic were agitating the issue; President Cleveland was known to be friendly; legislators in both countries had been committed to support of the proposition. Most encouraging of all, actual work on such a document was in progress and the diplomats handling the negotiations—Secretary of State Gresham and British Ambassador Sir Julian Pauncefote—were sincere and eager for success.

Two developments, however, prevented the consummation of a general arbitration treaty in 1895. One was the death of Gresham and his succession by Richard Olney, who was at first much less cordial to the project. The second was the rise of a serious mood of resentment in the United States over British policy in the Venezuelan boundary dispute. Why should this country bind itself to refer all future disputes with England to arbitration at a moment when the latter was reserving for herself a free hand in dealing with weak South American states?⁵

But, in the anxious days following Cleveland's special message of Decem-

² *Parliamentary Debates*, fourth series, XIII, 1240-41; Wemyss Reid, *Memoirs and Correspondence of Lyon Playfair, First Lord Playfair of St. Andrews* (New York and London, 1899), pp. 364-66; Curti, pp. 154-55.

³ *Congressional Record*, 51 Congress, 1 Session, XXI, 2986.

⁴ *Parliamentary Debates*, fourth series, XIII, 1273.

⁵ Howard Evans, *Sir Randal Cremer: His Life and Work* (London, 1909), pp. 163, 167; *Advocate of Peace*, LVII (Mar., 1895), 62. Assistant Secretary of State Alvey A. Adee advised Olney against haste in continuing the negotiations which Gresham and Pauncefote had begun. Adee to Olney, July 10 and 12, 1895, Olney Papers (Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.).

ber 17, 1895, on the Venezuelan boundary dispute, the movement was powerfully revived. Peace-loving elements in both Great Britain and the United States were shocked at the irresponsible talk of war which swept over America. Both in public discussion and private conference there was more and more talk of the possibility of setting up an arbitral tribunal to settle not only the Venezuelan question but future controversies as well. The British journalist, Henry Norman, wrote a special series of articles from Washington for the London *Chronicle*. He suggested that the United States and Great Britain negotiate a general arbitration treaty and that the Venezuelan boundary controversy then be submitted under its terms.⁶ Although the fact was well concealed, Norman's dispatches were actually written on the basis of interviews with Secretary Olney. His suggestion may, therefore, be assumed to have been a feeler thrown out by the American government.⁷ The journalist polled the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and found encouraging support for the idea.⁸

The subject of a general arbitration treaty was to some extent included in the unofficial negotiations on the Venezuelan issue inaugurated during January.⁹ Serious interest in the proposal was reflected in speeches by Lord Salisbury, the prime minister, and leaders of both the government and opposition parties at the opening of Parliament.¹⁰

On March 5, 1896, Lord Salisbury initiated formal negotiations. His proposal was a cautious one. Cases involving national honor or territorial claims were not covered, the procedure in other cases was cumbersome, and under most circumstances the governments would not bind themselves to accept the decision of the arbitral tribunal.¹¹

Olney and Cleveland urged a bolder scheme. They wanted all disputes to be arbitrable unless Congress or Parliament should declare that the issue was one involving national honor or integrity and withdraw the particular case from the operation of the treaty. They asserted, moreover, that the decisions of the arbitral tribunals should be final.¹² To this Lord Salisbury raised numerous objections. He particularly feared that the precedent of obligatory arbitration applied to territorial cases would cause claims to be raised against the British Empire by irresponsible powers in all parts of the world.¹³

⁶ Quoted in New York *Tribune*, Jan. 8, 1896.

⁷ Norman to Olney, Jan. 5, 7, 8, 9, and 10, 1896, Olney Papers.

⁸ New York *Tribune*, Jan. 10, 1896.

⁹ Olney to Bayard, Jan. 14, 1896, Olney Papers; Reid, pp. 419-20.

¹⁰ *Parliamentary Debates*, fourth series, XXXVII, 42, 53, 110.

¹¹ *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1896, pp. 222-24.

¹² Olney to Pauncefote, Apr. 11, 1896, *ibid.*, pp. 224-28.

¹³ Salisbury to Pauncefote, May 18, 1896, *ibid.*, pp. 228-31.

Penciled comments on the margins of a copy of Lord Salisbury's note reveal the great personal interest of President Cleveland in the cause of arbitration. Against the prime minister's complaint that compulsory arbitration would result in miscarriages of justice, Cleveland wrote, "So must every human expedient for adjusting conflicting rights." To the objection that uncertainty of litigation was a bad thing for the inhabitants of a disputed district, his marginal comment was, "Diplomacy may be protracted and war affects the lives of human beings by destroying it." Opposite still further difficulties raised by Salisbury, Cleveland wrote, "Without arbitration, diplomacy. If that fails war and sacrifice of life and retrogression in civilization."¹⁴

Olney's official reply to Lord Salisbury compared the British and American positions in these words:

Under the British proposal the parties enter into an arbitration and determine afterwards, when they know the result, whether they will be bound or not. Under the proposals of the United States the parties enter into an arbitration, having determined beforehand that they will be bound. The latter is a genuine arbitration; the former is a mere imitation, which may have its uses, but, like all other imitations, cannot compare in value with the real article.¹⁵

Thus matters stood in July, 1896, when, in the hope of winning the support of public opinion, both governments published their correspondence on the issue. Olney's advocacy of arbitration with as few reservations as possible appealed to peace-lovers in both countries. Letters from three university presidents—Low of Columbia, Angell of Michigan, and Gilman of Johns Hopkins—expressed approval of his position.¹⁶ Andrew Carnegie complained to Gladstone that Lord Salisbury's attitude seemed to belittle the whole arbitration movement, while English Liberals like John Morley and James Bryce asserted that they preferred the American plan over the British.¹⁷

Meanwhile, the popular demand for an arbitration treaty had grown to impressive proportions on both sides of the Atlantic.

In England resolutions calling for a permanent Anglo-American arbitral tribunal were passed in a meeting held at Zion College, London, on January 14. A committee headed by the bishop of Durham was named to promote the cause and secure signatures for a great petition. A conference of the International Arbitration League, presided over by Sir John Lubbock, passed similar resolutions, as did also the Federation of Free Churches.¹⁸ Dr. Darby of the London Peace Society worked energetically for the proposal,

¹⁴ Preserved with Cleveland Papers (Library of Congress).

¹⁵ Olney to Pauncefote, June 22, 1896, *Foreign Relations*, 1896, p. 234.

¹⁶ Olney Papers.

¹⁷ Burton J. Hendrick, *The Life of Andrew Carnegie* (New York, 1932), I, 432-34; J. R. Roosevelt to Olney, July 25, 1896, Olney Papers; *London Times*, Oct. 2, 1896.

¹⁸ *Advocate of Peace*, LVIII (Mar., 1896), 54.

while Randal Cremer was successful in securing the support of over five thousand labor leaders.¹⁹ In March a crusader of splendid energies, W. T. Stead, took up the movement. The English *Review of Reviews*, which he edited, gave publicity to the letters of such eminent advocates of arbitration as Lord Rosebery, Herbert Asquith, William Watson, and Herbert Spencer.²⁰ Meetings and memorials were frequent and Lord Salisbury could not have forgotten the matter had he wanted to. Within his own ministry the attorney-general, Sir Richard Webster, was known to be a warm friend of the movement, while Balfour was sympathetic.²¹

Events ran a parallel course in America. The American Peace Society of Boston and the Universal Peace Association of Philadelphia redoubled their efforts, while church groups—especially the Quakers—took up the project with great energy. Resolutions calling for a permanent court of arbitration were passed at many colleges.²² Peace demonstrations were held in Boston, Philadelphia, and Chicago, while at Washington a great Arbitration Conference convened on April 21 and 22. The Washington meeting attracted four hundred delegates from almost every state. Ex-Senator George Edmunds of Vermont presided; Chief Justice Melville Fuller, General Nelson Miles, ex-Secretary of State John W. Foster, President Angell of the University of Michigan, and Charles Francis Adams all appeared, and Carl Schurz made one of the principal speeches.²³

Since lawyers as a class are not likely to be visionary, it was a significant development when the New York Bar Association appointed a committee to draw up plans for an international court to settle differences that might arise between Great Britain and the United States. Troubled by the problem of constructing a court where the representatives of the litigants would be judges, the committee broadened their plan to include other nations as well.

After its unanimous adoption by a special meeting of the association, the plan was presented to President Cleveland in April, 1896. He showed great interest in the subject, talked with the committee for an hour, and asked for a copy of the document for Olney's use.²⁴

The movement was likewise given recognition by the American Bar As-

¹⁹ Evans, pp. 182-84.

²⁰ Frederic Whyte, *The Life of W. T. Stead* (London, 1925), II, 87.

²¹ Evans, p. 184; Blanche Dugdale, *Arthur James Balfour, First Earl of Balfour* (London, 1936), I, 230.

²² Copies of resolutions adopted at Oberlin College, Doane College, Puget Sound University, Mount Union College, and Pacific University are in the Cleveland Papers.

²³ Curti, p. 141; the memorial adopted by the conference is in the Cleveland Papers; the text of Schurz's speech is in Frederic Bancroft, ed., *Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz* (New York, 1913), V, 260-76.

²⁴ Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration, *Report of the Fifth Annual Meeting*, 1899, pp. 43-46.

sociation. The principal feature of its annual meeting in August was an address on international arbitration by Baron Russell of Killowen, the lord chief justice of Great Britain. The English lawyer proved to be a rather lukewarm champion of the principle, but his visit at least served to dramatize the improvement in Anglo-American relations.²⁵

Not everyone had faith in the project. E. J. Phelps, former United States minister to Great Britain, wrote that he had more confidence in high-minded diplomacy than in difficult mechanical instruments like arbitration treaties.²⁶ The New York *Tribune* could see difficulties;²⁷ the New York *Sun* was hostile; the San Francisco *Chronicle* warned, "Let us not deceive ourselves. The great battles of the world are yet to be fought."²⁸ On the British side, the Conservative publicist, Frederick Greenwood, cast serious doubt on the advisability of any arbitration treaty,²⁹ while another writer reminded English readers of the sharp practices which the Americans always employed in presenting claims and in carrying out arbitral decisions.³⁰ But President Cleveland remained sanguine. He assured a visitor early in August that international arbitration would come soon unless Salisbury prevented it.³¹

Lord Pauncefote was a sincere friend of the movement. He tried hard to get a treaty in July before he left for a vacation in England, and he renewed negotiations soon after his return in the fall.³² Soon after the settlement of the Venezuelan difficulty, Pauncefote and Olney worked out the text of a treaty which the two governments would accept. Lord Salisbury became greatly interested in the project at the end. According to Lady Salisbury, he "worked like a nigger over it."³³

The Olney-Pauncefote Treaty, finally signed January 11, 1897, represented a victory for the American contention that a general arbitration agreement should cover all types of controversies and should provide a final decision in most cases. Pecuniary claims not exceeding £100,000 were to be subject to the final decision of a tribunal composed of one arbitrator from each country and an umpire chosen by the two; all larger pecuniary claims and other con-

²⁵ Russell of Killowen, "International Law and Arbitration," *Forum*, XXII (Oct., 1896), 192-216; *London Times*, Aug. 21, 1896.

²⁶ Edward J. Phelps, "Arbitration and Our Relations with England," *Atlantic Monthly*, LXXVIII (July, 1896), 26-34.

²⁷ Feb. 17, 1896.

²⁸ *Chautauquan*, XXIII (Apr., 1896), 231.

²⁹ *Pall Mall Gazette*, July 23, 1896, clipping in Olney Papers.

³⁰ Herbert W. Wilson, "The Working of Arbitration," *Fortnightly Review*, LXVI old series (Dec. 1, 1896), 785-94.

³¹ Unsigned memorandum in Cleveland Papers for September, 1896.

³² Olney to Cleveland, July 16, 1896; Olney to Pauncefote, July 24; Pauncefote to Olney, July 29; Pauncefote to Olney, Nov. 13; Olney to Pauncefote, Nov. 15; Pauncefote to Olney, Nov. 15; Pauncefote to Olney, Dec. 28, 1896, Olney Papers.

³³ Henry White to Olney, Jan. 13, 1897, *ibid.*

troverted matters except territorial claims were to be submitted to such a tribunal of three, but unless the decision of this tribunal were unanimous an appeal might be taken to a second tribunal of five, two from each country plus an umpire chosen by the four; territorial claims were reserved for a tribunal of six members, three from each party with no umpire, and were not to be final unless agreed to by at least five of the arbiters; in cases where there was disagreement over the choice of an umpire he was to be named by the king of Sweden.³⁴

Letters of congratulation poured in to Cleveland and Olney from peace societies, churches, bar associations, university groups, and commercial organizations.³⁵ Grateful for this support, the President and the Secretary of State tried to secure a sufficient mobilization of public opinion to impress the Senate. Olney secured the help of F. R. Coudert and ex-Senator Edmunds, who were regarded as authorities on international law.³⁶ A prominent New York lawyer, John J. McCook, was enlisted for the task of securing the help of the churches. Under McCook's prompting great church meetings in New York, Boston, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and Chicago passed resolutions urging the Senate to consent to the ratification of the treaty.³⁷

Also working for ratification was the National Arbitration Committee headed by William E. Dodge, a public-spirited New York merchant. This group sent out fifty thousand circulars to ministers and three thousand to other leading citizens urging that they work for the treaty. To the senators and to editors throughout the country the committee sent a brief refuting the objections which were being raised to the document. Numerous public meetings were organized and the state legislatures of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Delaware, South Carolina, Alabama, and Minnesota were induced to pass resolutions favoring the ratification of the treaty. Each senator was beset with petitions.³⁸

But opposition to the treaty developed with equal rapidity. The *Chicago Tribune* referred with brutal directness to Canada and the West Indies, asserting that Americans wanted "to get rid of foreign influence on the North and South American continents. . . . We don't want to be tied up with any

³⁴ *Arbitration with Great Britain* (58 Congress, 3 Session, *Senate Documents*, no. 161), pp. 2-7. Lord Salisbury insisted on the principle of not permitting an umpire on tribunals deciding upon territorial issues, thus making an award impossible unless two of the arbiters voted against the case of their own country. This is an interesting point because English scholars have been severely critical of the policy of the United States government in insisting upon a very similar procedure on the Alaskan boundary question in 1903.

³⁵ Cleveland and Olney Papers for January, 1897.

³⁶ Olney to Coudert, Jan. 4, 1897; Olney to Edmunds, Jan. 13, 1897, Olney Papers.

³⁷ McCook to Olney, Jan. 15 and 16, 1897, *ibid.*

³⁸ W. E. Dodge to Cleveland, Feb. 10, 1897, Cleveland Papers. See also circulars of the National Arbitration Committee, *ibid.*

general arbitration treaty.”³⁹ The treaty was damned as “Secretary Olney’s Mugwump-Tory scheme” and it was asserted that in our previous experience with arbitration we had always been the losers. “It would be small business,” thought the *Tribune*, “for this powerful republic . . . to trust its rights to the decision of a foreign potentate of any kind.”⁴⁰ William Randolph Hearst, who was just beginning the New York phase of his career, implied that international Jewry was behind the treaty; the *New York Journal* asserted that there were on file in the State Department memorandums prepared by Baron Nathan Rothschild urging the advantages of an arbitration treaty between the United States and Great Britain.⁴¹ The *New York Sun* was somewhat more subtle in its attack. It called upon the Senate to consider the document with the “greatest deliberation,” spoke gravely of the danger of allowing the king of Sweden to name umpires, and inquired anxiously how the treaty might react on our relations with other European powers, especially with our traditional friend, Russia.⁴²

In the Senate the treaty was subjected to much criticism. What W. E. Dodge described as a kind of technical poison spread through the chamber.⁴³ Innumerable questions were raised as to how obligatory arbitration might affect some particular interest of the United States. Some senators were afraid that the treaty might tie American hands in securing an isthmian canal or were impressed by the warning of Benjamin F. Tracy, a former Secretary of the Navy, who feared that the United States might be compelled to arbitrate the Monroe Doctrine or the issue of whether Spain might sell Cuba to England.⁴⁴ Others were reported to be angered by Olney’s “utter disregard for the opinion of the Senate and Congress.”⁴⁵ Even some of the nominal supporters of the agreement were unenthusiastic. Senator Hawley of Connecticut announced that he was going to vote for the treaty even though there was no provision that a stop should be made to “Great Britain’s immemorial policy of territorial extension, seizure, land robbery, bulldozing, and ruthless disregard of the rights of the weaker.” But, if there was any wrong, any serious insult put upon their nation and their flag, the American people would fight, treaty or no treaty.⁴⁶

As one observer analyzed the situation, an irreconcilable element led by Senator Morgan of Alabama opposed an arbitration treaty in any form be-

³⁹ Jan. 12, 1897. ⁴⁰ Jan. 16 and 19, 1897.

⁴¹ Jan. 17, 1897. The story was denied in a letter of Adee to Stuyvesant Fish, Feb. 5, 1897, Olney Papers.

⁴² Jan. 13 and 14, 1897. ⁴³ Dodge to Olney, Jan. 21, 1897, Olney Papers.

⁴⁴ *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 16, 1897. Responding to an appeal by Olney, ex-Senator Edmunds gave out a statement to the newspapers refuting Tracy’s views. Olney to Edmunds, Jan. 18; Edmunds to Olney, Jan. 19, 1897, Olney Papers.

⁴⁵ *New York Sun*, Jan. 14, 1897. ⁴⁶ *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 19, 1897.

cause they wanted war with England or at least an unrestricted opportunity to threaten war whenever they felt like it. The two Massachusetts senators, Lodge and Hoar, headed a faction which was content to amend the life out of the treaty; they were for the treaty but against its ratification; they would ratify a different treaty.⁴⁷ The Philadelphia *Public Ledger* charged that the senators were trifling with both nations and reducing the treaty to a "budget of meaningless phrases."⁴⁸ The English *Saturday Review* lamented that America was "misrepresented by its stupid and mischievous Congress."⁴⁹

But the Senate ignored its critics and refused to be hurried. As early as February 11 Olney admitted gloomily his fear that the treaty was destined to be talked over into the next session of Congress—and perhaps even talked to death.⁵⁰

On March 4 Cleveland and Olney returned to private life and the arbitration agreement was delivered to the tender mercies of a new president and a new Congress. McKinley at once put himself on record as an enthusiastic supporter of the treaty. In his inaugural address he expressed his strong hope that the document would be ratified.⁵¹

Since the Cleveland administration would no longer receive credit, there was hope that the treaty would now be accepted. But the senators continued to make trouble. Although they debated the matter in what were supposed to be secret sessions, the public was aware that the cause of arbitration was not prospering. By March 24 it was known that the Senate had largely emasculated the treaty by accepting three amendments proposed by the Foreign Relations Committee. The London *Times* could not conceal its indignation. "The Senate," it declared, "has done more than wreck an instrument carefully forged by the representatives of two nations. It has struck a blow at the principle of arbitration itself, and at the confidence of the world in the American people. There is in its action a note of levity, of wantonness, and of irresponsible caprice, such as, happily, is very rarely struck by any legislative assembly."⁵²

The Foreign Relations Committee amendments made the consent of two thirds of the Senate necessary for the submission of any dispute to arbitration, made the President's nomination of the American arbitrators subject to the consent of the Senate, and entirely cut out the provision under which the king of Sweden would name the umpire in case of a disagreement over his selection.⁵³ But the mutilation of the treaty did not stop there. The Senate

⁴⁷ London *Times*, Feb. 10, 1897. ⁴⁸ Feb. 15, 1897.

⁴⁹ LXXXIII (Feb. 13, 1897), 163.

⁵⁰ Olney to H. L. Nelson, Feb. 11, 1897, Olney Papers.

⁵¹ James D. Richardson, ed., *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1905* (Washington, 1907), X, 17.

⁵² Mar. 24, 1897.

⁵³ *Arbitration with Great Britain*, pp. 16-19.

accepted an amendment proposed by Senator Hoar of Massachusetts which forbade the submission to arbitration of any controversy that in the judgment of either power materially affected its honor, territorial integrity, foreign or domestic policy, or involved the question of whether any treaty, once existing, continued in force—a clear reference to the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty.⁵⁴ Senator Bacon of Georgia secured an amendment forbidding the submission to arbitration of claims against any individual state of the United States, a maneuver designed to protect the Southern states which had repudiated their debts of the Civil War and Reconstruction periods.⁵⁵ Minor operations were combined with major until two of the fifteen articles of the treaty were repudiated completely and five others radically altered.

The Senate's attack was made in the face of evidence that the document had the support of a large proportion of the public. The New York *World* sought to poll the opinion of the nation by sending out a flood of telegrams to bishops and church leaders, educators, labor leaders, presidents of chambers of commerce, and editors of daily newspapers. Over 2,000 replies were received and the overwhelming majority was for the treaty. Of 400 newspapers polled, all but 39 favored ratification either in the treaty's original form or with amendments.⁵⁶ Of 36 daily newspapers quoted in the *Literary Digest* and in *Public Opinion* 28 favored the treaty, 4 were critical, and 4 openly opposed.⁵⁷

More petitions and memorials were sent to senators than on any preceding treaty.⁵⁸ An analysis of 302 of these referred to in the *Senate Executive Journal* reveals that 266 favored ratification. Of these 118 were from church organizations, 31 from chambers of commerce, 23 from college faculties or student bodies, and 22 from women's societies. At least 23 of the 36 petitions opposing ratification were from Irish-American organizations. Interest in the treaty evidently centered in the Northeast and the Midwest. Of the petitions favoring ratification 103 came from New England and the Middle Atlantic states, 128 from the North Central states; of those opposing the treaty 21 came from the Middle Atlantic states and 14 from the North Central section. The Southern states provided 24 petitions favoring ratification and none at all opposing; the Mountain and Pacific states were represented by only one petition—for the treaty.⁵⁹

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 21. ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.

⁵⁶ *Congressional Record*, 55 Congress, 1 Session, XXX, 612.

⁵⁷ *Literary Digest*, XIV (Jan. 23 and 30, 1897), 357-58, 386; XV (May 15, 1897), 64-65; *Public Opinion*, XXII (Jan. 21, Feb. 11, May 13, 1897), 68-70, 166-67, 581.

⁵⁸ W. Stull Holt, *Treaties Defeated by the Senate: A Study of the Struggle between President and Senate over the Conduct of Foreign Relations* (Baltimore, 1933), p. 157.

⁵⁹ *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate of the United States of America* (Washington, 1909), XXX, 356-443; XXXI, 3-105.

Despite this support, however, the prospects of the scheme deteriorated steadily. Such jingo newspapers as the *Chicago Tribune*, the *New York Journal*, and the *New York Sun* kept up a relentless attack. Allied with them were numerous Irish-American societies and periodicals which were opposed to any Anglo-American arbitration treaty, no matter how limited by amendments. "A Catspaw For England," pronounced the *Irish World*. "Are We Raking British Chestnuts Out Of The European Fire? America Will Be John Bull's Trump Card. Jubilant Britishers Are Anticipating A Full Offensive And Defensive Alliance."⁶⁰ The Irish persisted in labeling the project an alliance and in boldly appealing to all the American prejudice against involvements abroad.⁶¹ On the day of the final vote on the treaty two prominent Irish nationalists were in the Senate lobby working hard to insure its defeat. One was Patrick Egan, former American minister to Chile and very prominent in Republican party circles; the other was Michael Davitt, the father of the Irish Land League and one of the most prominent members of the Irish Nationalist party in the British Parliament. Davitt had timed one of his frequent visits to the United States so as to take part in this particular fight. He wanted, he said, to demonstrate to the English that their hope for closer relations with the United States would be forever thwarted unless they satisfied the Irish aspiration for self-government.⁶²

Both friends and foes of the treaty were much in evidence at a great mass meeting held in Cooper Union, New York City. The sponsors had arranged a program devoted to speeches by such friends of arbitration as Mayor Strong, President Low of Columbia, Bishop Potter of the Episcopal Church, and Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor. Unfortunately for the cause of peace, the hall was packed with a hostile element that almost stole the show. A Tammany judge, known affectionately as "Warwhoop" Lynn, secured the floor and proceeded to denounce England while his admirers howled "Hurrah for war!" and "To Hell with England!" The presiding officer ignored the noisy Anglophobes and declared that the resolutions calling for the ratification of the treaty were carried.⁶³ But the opposition hired the same hall one week later and staged their own meeting.⁶⁴

From the point of view of practical politics the most dangerous enemies of the treaty were the silverites. To them the document was twice accursed. It was associated with the detested Grover Cleveland and it was a tie with

⁶⁰ Jan. 23, 1897. ⁶¹ *Literary Digest*, XIV (Feb. 20, 1897), 481.

⁶² *Irish World*, May 15, 1897; Evans, p. 185; Francis Sheehy-Skeffington, *Michael Davitt: Revolutionary, Agitator and Labour Leader* (London and Leipsic, 1908), pp. 199-200.

⁶³ *New York Tribune*, Mar. 12, 1897. ⁶⁴ *Irish World*, Mar. 27, 1897.

England, the symbol of the gold power. In the words of the Gadsden (Ala.) *Tribune*:

In our opinion the treaty . . . is a trap set for the American people by the British gold ring and their Tory allies in this country. If passed without amendment it virtually annuls the Monroe Doctrine and the Declaration of Independence of this country.⁶⁵

The famous election of 1896 had had important repercussions on Anglo-American relations. At first the English had been dismayed by the nomination of McKinley, who was known to them only as the high priest of protectionism. But the economic heresies of the Republicans soon appeared as nothing when compared with the financial blasphemy that tumbled from the lips of Bryan. The British governing class followed the American campaign with undisguised apprehension, and they applauded the Republican victory in November as a deliverance from utter disaster, not only for America but for England as well. McKinley was aware of the enthusiasm of the British and entered office with a sincere wish to improve the relations of the two countries.

But England's attitude was bitterly resented by millions of Americans to whom silver was a holy cause. It seemed to prove what the silverites for a whole generation had been asserting—that there existed a conspiracy between London and New York bankers to impose the gold standard for their own profit. A Bryan supporter had stated that the campaign of 1896 was “the most important political battle of this or any other age; a battle which is to determine whether this nation shall be a province of Great Britain and be governed and controlled as that nation is by the money barons of Europe, or whether it shall be, as the fathers intended it to be, a free and independent and sovereign nation.”⁶⁶ The Democratic party platform had declared:

Gold monometallism is a British policy, and its adoption has brought other nations into financial servitude to London. It is not only un-American, but anti-American, and it can be fastened on the United States only by the stifling of that spirit and love of liberty which proclaimed our political independence in 1776 and won it in the war of the Revolution.⁶⁷

The silver forces lost the election, but they still had it within their power to oppose the ratification of a treaty which was supposed to inaugurate a new era of friendship between the United States and Great Britain. “On the

⁶⁵ *Responses of the Newspapers of the United States to the New York World's Telegram Asking an Expression of an Opinion upon the Pending Arbitration Treaty between the United States and Great Britain* (55 Congress, 1 Session, *Senate Documents*, no. 63), p. 2.

⁶⁶ William J. Bryan, *The First Battle: A Story of the Campaign of 1896* (Chicago, 1896), p. 426.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 407.

whole," wrote one silverite senator to another, "the Treaty is better in the wastebasket or the fire than anywhere else."⁶⁸

On May 5, 1897, the long debate finally came to an end. The treaty had been so amended that it scarcely obligated the United States to do anything. The final issue was not general arbitration at all; the Senate was asked merely to approve an innocuous gesture of good will toward England. Forty-three of the senators were willing to do this, twenty-six were opposed, and the treaty failed of ratification by three votes.⁶⁹ Actually the decision was probably not this close. It was common talk that several senators had voted for the treaty only because they knew that it would fail.⁷⁰

It was the silverites who delivered most of the irreconcilable vote. Of thirty-one senators voting or paired against final ratification, twenty-five, according to the *New York Herald*, were proponents of free silver coinage. Twenty-one of the irreconcilables were from states west of the Mississippi, seven from states east of the Mississippi but south of the Mason-Dixon line. The other three were Quay and Penrose of Pennsylvania and Mason of Illinois. It was alleged at the time that the vote of the Pennsylvania senators reflected the wishes of shipbuilding interests which were opposed to "anything calculated to put an end to war scares and the big appropriations which are railroaded through while the scares are on."⁷¹

But amendment had killed the treaty long before the final vote. Senators like Lodge, Hoar, Foraker, Chandler, and Hawley who proposed and voted for damaging amendments or who indulged in deprecatory comments were as much the assassins of the proposal as the silverites. Very few of the senators, in fact, could resist the impulse to rewrite the treaty. Besides the thirty-one irreconcilables, there were forty reservationists who voted for one or more of the important amendments. How is their hostility to the original scheme to be explained?

It need not be doubted that Irish-American lobbying had been effective. Of sixteen senators from the eight states which had the largest concentrations of immediate Irish stock, four were irreconcilables and nine were reservationists.⁷²

The Irish, however, were not the only Americans suspicious of Great Britain. The English seemed headed for trouble in South Africa, in China,

⁶⁸ John W. Daniel to John T. Morgan, Mar. 12 (22?), 1897, quoted by Holt, p. 162.

⁶⁹ *Arbitration with Great Britain*, p. 33.

⁷⁰ *New York Tribune*, May 6, 1897. Cf. Sydney Brooks, "Anglo-American Arbitration," *Harper's Weekly*, LII (Mar. 21, 1908), 17.

⁷¹ *Chicago Chronicle*, quoted in *Literary Digest*, XV (May 15, 1897), 65. Cf. letter of Olney to Henry White, May 14, 1897, Holt, p. 159.

⁷² The eight states were New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Illinois, New Jersey, Ohio, Connecticut, and California. *United States Census, 1890, Compendium*, Pt. III, 79.

and in the Near East. The fact that the arbitration treaty had specified a period of five years was believed to be linked with Lord Salisbury's desire to bridge over a critical period in world politics. Many senators still thought of England as our hereditary foe and were unwilling to extend a hand to her in her difficulties, the more especially since there was great criticism of the policies which she was pursuing in South Africa, in Turkey, and in Crete. One senator remarked:

If we ratify this treaty, within fifteen minutes the news would be flashed around the world that we have made what most nations would regard as a close and special alliance with England, and we do not want to put ourselves into that attitude.⁷³

Senators who wanted the United States free to follow an expansionist policy, who wanted Spain driven out of Cuba and an American-controlled canal built across the isthmus, looked with distaste on a document which might in any way tie this government's hands. Morgan of Alabama and other silverite irreconcilables were jingoes. So also was Mason of Illinois, who voted against the treaty on the final vote. Other prominent expansionists like Chandler of New Hampshire, Lodge of Massachusetts, and Foraker of Ohio were active in the campaign to kill the treaty by amendment.

The cause of arbitration was also hurt by dissatisfaction in many quarters over the results of the last previous Anglo-American resort to arbitration in the Bering Sea case.⁷⁴

But, in the opinion of no less an authority than Richard Olney himself, the most decisive force working against the treaty was the determination of the Senate to dominate the national government.

The Treaty, in getting itself made by the sole act of the executive, without leave of the Senate first had and obtained, had committed the unpardonable sin. It must be either altogether defeated or so altered as to bear an unmistakable Senate stamp . . . and thus be the means both of humiliating the executive and of showing to the world the greatness of the Senate. . . . The method of assault has been as insidious as it has been deadly. A single sound objection to the Treaty as signed has yet to be stated. Yet, awed by the universal public sentiment for the Treaty and feeling compelled to seem to defer to it while in reality plotting to defeat it, Senators have exhausted their ingenuity in devising amendments to the Treaty. Hence, before the Treaty came to a final vote, the Senate brand had been put upon every part of it and the original instrument had been mutilated and distorted beyond all possibility of recognition. The object of the Senate in dealing with the Treaty . . . the assertion of its own predominance . . . was thus successfully accomplished and would have been even if the Treaty as amended had been ratified.⁷⁵

⁷³ Lake Mohonk Conference, *Report of the Third Annual Meeting*, 1897, p. 19.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-9.

⁷⁵ Olney to Henry White, May 14, 1897, quoted by Holt, pp. 159-60. Olney analyzed also

Party lines counted for little. The treaty had been negotiated by a Democratic administration, but its ratification had been strongly urged by the new Republican President. Of the thirty-one irreconcilables, either voting or paired against the treaty on the final vote, sixteen, according to the *Congressional Directory*, considered themselves Democrats, eight were Republicans, and seven were variously classified as Populists, Silverites, Silver Republicans, or Independents. Of the forty reservationists, twenty-five were Republicans, thirteen Democrats, and two Populists. Of fifteen senators who voted for the treaty and against the amendments, nine were Republicans and six Democrats.

But, if analyzing the vote by party affiliations proves little, analyzing it by sections shows considerably more. Whatever strength existed for ratifying the original treaty was largely to be found in the East. The further west one went, the less senatorial support was forthcoming. Of the senators from the Northeast whose positions can be classified, 28 per cent supported the original treaty with some consistency and only 11 per cent opposed the amended treaty. But of the senators from the Far Western states, not a single one supported the original treaty while 60 per cent opposed it after all the amendments had been added. The Southern and Midwestern senators followed such similar lines of division that they may be considered together. Of these 19 per cent supported the original treaty; 38 per cent were opposed to it even in its amended form.

The most characteristic senatorial attitude was that of the reservationists. As Olney observed, the agreement was done to death not by open enemies but by professed friends.⁷⁶ Of the Eastern senators 61 per cent, of the Southern and Midwestern 42 per cent, and of the Far Western 40 per cent did not vote against ratification on the final vote but did support one or more of the mutilating amendments.

Workers in the cause of arbitration could console themselves that not all was lost. The contest had provided publicity for the idea and popular education on the issues involved. Nevertheless, the defeat proved to be much more than a temporary setback. The leadership which the United States had up to then asserted in championing the principle of arbitration was lost.

the other factors which he thought had resulted in the defeat of the treaty. At his suggestion, White allowed the letter to circulate among members of the British ministry where it aroused great interest. Cf. Allan Nevins, *Henry White: Thirty Years of American Diplomacy* (New York and London, 1930), pp. 125-26, and Henry James, *Richard Olney and His Public Service* (Boston and New York, 1923), p. 149.

⁷⁶ Olney to White, May 14, 1897, quoted by Holt, p. 160.

Since 1897, despite many and vehement assertions of devotion to that ideal, the record reveals that in action the United States has not only lagged behind the advancing practices of the rest of the civilized world but has even retrograded.⁷⁷

The parallels between this contest of 1897 and the more famous and important one of 1919 are obvious. In the latter struggle there was a much larger element of party politics. But we make a serious error if we ascribe the defeat of the Treaty of Versailles primarily to causes which operated at a certain time and involved particular personalities. So long as the Constitution continues to require that treaties must have a two thirds vote of the Senate for their ratification, it will be difficult for any American president to commit the United States in advance to a definite course of action in the event of a threat to peace. The groups which defeated the treaty of 1897—agrarians suspicious of the intrigues of Wall Street, Anglophobes, and legislators jealous of senatorial power—we apparently have with us always.

⁷⁷ Holt, pp. 154-55. For another discussion of the Olney-Pauncefote Treaty and its relationship to the arbitration movement, see Denna Frank Fleming, *The Treaty Veto of the American Senate* (New York and London, 1930), pp. 77-116.

Leadership and Democracy in the Early New England System of Defense

MORRISON SHARP*

I

THE New England system of defense in the seventeenth century, like the New England town, was conceived in the aristocratic traditions of the old country but grew to new vigor under the democratic exigencies of the frontier. England sent well-bred aristocrats into the wilderness that they might command fighting men who kept muskets in their homes for defense of the commonwealth. The new factor was the soldier-citizen, freeman, inhabitant, or ordinary householder with his sons and servants. Only in London had there been anything like the New England militia, where, as in the wilderness, Puritan-inclined gentlemen of wealth and breeding realized that popularly supported, well-equipped, and disciplined trainbands were necessary to preserve their lives, liberties, and fortunes. On the frontier, where common men seized hold of greater shares of substance and dignity, they developed within the old traditional aristocratic leadership new traditions of majority rule, popular nomination of officers, local self-government, and almost universal manhood suffrage when they elected trainband officers, served in fighting companies, and maintained other branches of their system of defense.

Early New England society approached a total unity for certain major purposes. Among these were the unhampered rule of the Congregational aristocrats in their church without a bishop and their state without a king, expansion of the frontier under unquestioned title to the land, and defense against all disturbers of the peace—political, economic, and religious. In short, all of New England was by virtue of its purposes and organization a total system of defense of which the trainbands and fighting companies were most important parts.¹ The men of New England were enrolled into town trainbands and the trainbands into county regiments for drilling and for inspection of powder and arms. The trainbands and trainband-regiments rarely or never fought as military organizations. Their officers, as trainband

*The author is associate professor of social sciences at Northland College, Ashland, Wisconsin.

¹ The term "militia" seems to have been applied in the seventeenth century to any body of nonprofessional soldiers. It was a loose term connoting no specific duties or type of company or regimental organization. It was used almost interchangeably with "trainbands" or "trained bands."

and regimental officers, did not lead the men into battle. Their duties were limited to drilling their men, keeping the muster rolls, and inspecting the home-stored supplies of powder, lead, and guns. For fighting, the New England colonies raised special fighting companies of men drafted out of the ranks of the trainbands and led by specially commissioned officers. Though the same men filled both kinds of companies, the trainbands were only civilians under arms subject to civil law, while the fighting companies, under martial law, were real soldiers bent on "good ruff worke."²

In such a system of defense, leadership cannot be understood by listing the kinds of officers and their duties, but rather by studying the many ways free-men, both clergy and magistracy, dominated their common citizen-soldiers. In theory, as expressed in law, the old English system of centralized authority running down from king to lord lieutenants, deputy lieutenants, sheriffs, constables, muster masters, and captains, existed also in New England, that is, officers were imposed upon regiments. But in practice the New England militia was a popular force arising out of the needs of the people and embracing all of them.³

These needs were the outgrowth of life and dangers of the New World, for the people, going forth in companies, were subduing and civilizing the wilderness. The migration of the original settlers of Cambridge to Connecticut was typical; they formed a company in three distinct senses: a company of soldiers, a company of land seekers, and a company of religious men. Defense, wealth, and faith were their unity; soldiers, aristocrats, and ministers their leaders. It may seem somewhat surprising that the clergy, although excused from training, kept closely in touch with trainbands, fighting companies, and other defense activities. But their leadership was indispensable in the New England system of defense.⁴ From their pulpits they maintained unity and discipline in their godly communities; they opened training with prayer and closed it with prayer; they voted in trainband elections; they gave

² "Here is yet good ruff worke to be done [on the Pequots]." Israel Stoughton to John Winthrop, July, 1637, *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, third series, LI, 285. (Abbreviated hereafter as *Proc. M. H. S.*)

³ "Their military commissioned officers are elected by the soldiers of the severall Companies. Their Charter [of 1663] directs that such officers be appointed by the Generall Assembly, or by the Governor and Assistants, in cases of exigence." "Disorders and Irregularities" Number Five from the "Report of the Earl of Bellomont, on the Irregularities of Rhode Island. Boston, November the 27th, 1699," *Records of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England*, ed. John R. Bartlett (Providence, 1856-65), III, 386. (Abbreviated hereafter as *R.I.Col.Recs.*) "I further inquired of Governor Cranston about the Constitution of their militia, with relation to the appointment of officers, etc. He answered, their military officers were chosen by the people, but commissioned by the Governor." "Lord Bellomont's Journal, etc.," *ibid.*, III, 390.

⁴ Even in Rhode Island, where less store was set by theocracy, theology, and discipline, problems of "Invasions forreine and domestick" were at one time, "committed to the Judge and [three] Elders." *Ibid.*, I, 64.

advice in trainband quarrels; and, in time of war, marched with their soldiers to exhort, strengthen, and advise.

This tie between the defense activities and the clergy was not a new social pattern of the frontier.⁵ Its beginnings lay in the conception of sin in the seventeenth century as it pertained to military disaster. According to current English, not necessarily Puritan, thought, "The Plague proceeds from the hand of God, War from the hands of men; and sins of men provoke the justice of Almighty God both to visit and chastise them."⁶ War, to an Elizabethan officer, was "ordained by the Almighty himselfe, as a scourge upon the people, to make them feeble and knowe their sinnes."⁷ Another English officer of the Tudor period explained the rise of the Turks as due to the wrath of God who

can levie an invincible Armie, when and where him lysteth, to vexe us and to punishe us, and utterly to destroy us . . . and as he useth them for the punishment of the worlde, so doth he occupie the same also to the comfort and deliveraunce of the righteous and to make way for the Scepter of peace [that is, of true religion] to come to her regement and orderly occupation.⁸

Similar views of the danger from the wrath of an aroused God found very concrete expression in the pre-Civil War military laws of Charles I and in the military laws of both sides during the contest. There was nothing peculiarly Puritan in a sense of the immanence of God in the military, as well as the civil, affairs of men. Swearing was prohibited because by the "act of blaspheming and swearing by the name of the sacred Trinitie, they [soldiers] commit greater villany and offence before God, then if before the world they did commit most wicked acts, or infinite errors."⁹ Sir Thomas Howard, an officer of Charles I, provided that the blasphemer,

shall for the first offence make a publique acknowledgement with detestation of his fault before the *Preacher* of his *Regiment*, and all others present at the time and place of *Divine Service*: and be kept three days in prison with bread and water. The second time, he shall have a red-hot iron thrust thorow his tongue; and after that, be ignominiously for ever turned out of the Armie.¹⁰

These laws for the enforcement of piety and discouragement of blasphemy, including the red-hot iron as a curb on the unruly member, were repeated

⁵ "The Indian raids then, were God's judgement for the [moral] shortcomings of New Englanders." Thomas J. Holmes, *Increase Mather: A Bibliography of His Works* (Cleveland, 1931), I, 226.

⁶ Anon., *A Declaration and Manifestation of the Proceedings of Both Armies* (London, 1642), p. 6.

⁷ Barnabie Rich, *The Fruites of Long Experience* (London, 1604), p. 41.

⁸ Geoffrey Gates, *The Defence of Militarie Profession*, etc. (London, 1579), p. 15.

⁹ Edward Davies, *The Art of War and Englands Traynings* (London, 1619), p. 35.

¹⁰ Sir Thomas Howard, First Earle, and Earl Marshall of England, *Lawes and Ordinances of War* (London, 1639), p. 2.

almost verbatim in the *Orders and Institutions of War* of Charles I and in similar codes of his enemies.¹¹ And these were the laws by which Massachusetts governed her troops in King Philip's War.¹²

To the preacher and his congregation, God was the integrating factor throughout their system of defense. Increase Mather taught his people that disaster was due to the "*Degenerate Estate of the present Generation in New England.*"¹³ Second generation worldings, by departing from the pure faith of their fathers, had brought upon themselves war and defeat, starvation and pestilence. When Indians burned the town of Dartmouth, Plymouth Colony advised the victims to resettle compactly

together, att least in each village, as they may be in a capassitie both to defend themselves from the assault of an enimic, and the better to attend the publicke worship of God . . . whose carelesnes to obtaine and attend unto, wee fear, may have bine a provocation of God thus to chastise their contempt of his gospell.¹⁴

The doctrine of special providence for good or evil justified as intimate a connection between pastor and captain as that between blockhouse and meeting house. Therefore, according to the most advanced thought of the age, it would have been of the utmost folly to provoke God so that He would not go "forth with our Armies as in former times" by neglecting to maintain the closest bonds between the militia and the clergy. Any other course would have justified God to "withdraw from the English, and take part with the enemy."¹⁵

The influence of the clergy upon the training field cannot be measured, but their restraining power seems to have been of no small consequence.

¹¹ *Military Orders and Articles* (Oxford, 1642 [written in ink: 28 August, 1642]) is another royalist code; Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, *Lawes and Ordinances of Warre*, etc. (London, 1642), puritan; Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, *Lawes and Ordinances of Warre*, etc. (London, September, 1642), puritan; Henry Hexham, at the same time, translated out of a Dutch military manual an almost identical set of laws, and forty years later these were incorporated in James II's *Rules and Articles of War for the Better Government of His Majesties Land-Forces*, etc. (London, 1685). See Henry Hexham, *An Appendix of the Laws . . . for Marshall Discipline* (Hag [The Hague?], 1643).

¹² "Laws and Orders of Warr to Keepe Iniquity out of the Camp" (1675?), *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, VII (Jan., 1853), 60; see also Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, ed., *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England* (Boston, 1853-54), V, 49 (Oct. 13, 1675). (Abbreviated hereafter as *Mass. Bay Recs.*) This summary of military laws includes the (red) hot iron treatment.

¹³ Increase Mather, *A Brief History of the War with the Indians in New England* (London, 1676), p. 14; also his *An Earnest Exhortation to the Inhabitants of New England* (Boston, 1676), p. 17, and, to the same effect, N[athaniel] S[altonstall], *A Continuation of the State of New-England; Being a Farther Account of the Indian Warr* (London, 1676), p. 1. That these views were commonly accepted and not the product of one tortured sensitive nature is proved by their embodiment into a resolution and unanimously passed by the joint committee of elders and both houses of the General Court. Mather, *Brief History*, p. 18.

¹⁴ Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, ed., *Records of the Colony of New Plymouth in New England* (Boston, 1855-61), V, 177. (Abbreviated hereafter as *Ply. Col. Recs.*)

¹⁵ Mather, *Brief History*, pp. 15, 21.

Governor Winthrop, himself a colonel in the militia, wrote of a great two-day training at Boston, "About 1200 men were exercised in most sorts of land service; yet it was observed that there was no man drunk, though there was plenty of wine and strong beer in the town, nor an oath sworn, no quarrel, nor any hurt done."¹⁶ And the "Simple Cobbler of Agawam," who was undoubtedly well acquainted with training fields, thanked God that he had lived in New England twelve years and never "heard but one Oath sworne, nor never saw one man drunke, nor ever heard of three women Adulteresses, in all this time; that I can call to minde."¹⁷ It seems reasonable to suppose that had the New England training field been like the English training field, a roaring mess of drink and profanity as pictured by responsible English officers at the time,¹⁸ these two Puritan gentlemen could hardly have written as they did. If the clergy were not always on the New England training field in person, they were always there in spirit.

On the march and in the midst of battle the pastors shepherded their flocks. The Reverend Mr. Newman of Rehoboth led his congregation and a few Mohegans to attack King Philip in July, 1675, thus almost opening the great struggle.¹⁹ Not only from pulpits exhorting the people to subscribe to war loans but actually in active combat service the New England ministry sustained its leadership.²⁰ One of the three ministers accompanying the army in the Great Swamp Fight of December 19, 1675, was Mr. Samuel Nowell.²¹ "He behaved with wonderful courage and activity in the face of death, when balls whistled on every side of him, yet escaped."²² Another minister of great value to his people in time of war was the superbly capable Captain Whiting, minister of Hartford, who, with Major Treat, never led his fighting companies into ambush.²³ When not in the heroic role of leading their flocks to battle, the clergy were conscientious citizens in other sectors of the system of defense. There is the example of Reverend Andrew Gardiner, who, although the clergy were excused by law from standing watch as from training, was

¹⁶ John Winthrop, *Journal*, ed. James K. Hosmer (New York, 1908), II, 42 (Sept. 15, 1641).

¹⁷ Nathaniel Ward (pseud., Theodore de la Guard), *The Simple Cöbler of Aggawam in America*, etc. (London, 1647), p. 61. Ward clothed his extravagant humor in piety as "If these sinnes bee among us privily, the Lord heale us." But Increase Mather did not take social sinning quite so lightly: "... and that whereas Swearing hath been frequently heard," *Brief History*, p. 18. This is part of the "Reformation" agreed upon by the General Court, both houses, and the teaching elders.

¹⁸ Robert Ward, *Animadversions of Warre*, etc. (London, 1639), *passim*.

¹⁹ *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, fourth series, VIII, 233n. (Abbreviated hereafter as *Coll. M. H. S.*)

²⁰ *Mass. Bay Recs.*, V, 96 (May 5, 1676).

²¹ N[athaniel] S[altonstall], *A Continuation of the State of New-England*, p. 5.

²² Samuel Niles, "History of the Indian and French Wars," *Coll. M.H.S.*, third series, VI, 182.

²³ N[athaniel] S[altonstall], *The Present State of New England . . . till the 10th of November 1675* (London, 1675), p. 14.

mistaken in his clerical garb for an Indian and slain while on duty with the watch.²⁴

In yet another example the unity of the clergy with the fighting forces may be shown, this time by the story of Mr. Stone, the chaplain in the Pequot campaign of 1637. The magistrates had planned that the expedition would sail up the Thames River and assault the enemy as Endicott had tried and failed the year before. Both captains of the second expedition saw the folly of a direct attack upon a well-warned and fortified Indian encampment deep in a swamp. Instead of giving up, however, the captains proposed to slip around into Narragansett Bay and attack overland on a westward march from an unexpected quarter. The problem was, therefore, twofold: to defeat the Pequots and to satisfy the magistrates. The officers explained the political and tactical aspects of their strategic problem to Mr. Stone, who went off to seek divine guidance. He got what he sought. God told him to attack through the Narragansett country. That it was God's advice and not the advice of some evil misguiding imp of Satan was doubly proved: first, as the preacher rose from his knees there stood before him a Mohegan war party with six dripping Pequot scalps; and second, the plan succeeded.²⁵

The immediate presence of God hovered over the training field as everywhere else in early New England. It gave unity and purpose to the militia and a fighting power to protect life and property unmatched in the other colonies. Many militiamen were slain in defeat and a few in victory, many homes and whole towns were burned and even deserted, but Massachusetts at its worst never suffered the wholesale massacres that overtook Virginia, New York, and the less godly people around York, Maine.²⁶ In Connecticut during King Philip's War not a town was burned and not a fighting company ambushed or defeated. The New England militia, that is, fighting companies, trainbands, and systems of supply, were the New World "Ironsides" whose discipline and tenacity justified Increase Mather to exult:

²⁴ John Pike, "Journal," *Proc. M.H.S.*, first series, XIV, 139; John Marshall, "Diary," *ibid.*, second series, XIV, 23; Niles, "History," *Coll. M.H.S.*, third series, VI, 261.

²⁵ (Captain) John Mason, "History of the Pequot War," *Coll. M.H.S.*, second series, VIII, 134. (Captain) John Underhill, "Newes from America," etc., *ibid.*, third series, VI, 23.

²⁶ For the worldliness and consequent visitation of divine wrath upon the fishermen of York, Maine, see Niles, "History," *ibid.*, VI, 177. Major-General Daniel Gookin (1612-87) brought to New England and its government a vivid memory of inefficient colonial defense and consequent Indian massacre. His father, Daniel Gookin, had been in Virginia just four months when the great massacre of March 22, 1621/2, destroyed 347 of the 4000 settlers; and twenty-three years later while Daniel, jr., and his family were preparing to quit ungodly Virginia in April, 1644, the colony was again almost overwhelmed. Gookin was a splendid example of piety and military efficiency. Had his humanitarian advice concerning the use and protection of his Praying Indians been followed, Massachusetts might have come through King Philip's War as unscathed as did Connecticut. See Frederick W. Gookin, *Daniel Gookin 1612-1687* (Chicago, 1912), pp. 42, 71.

It hath been observed by many, that never any, (whether Indians or others) did set themselves to do hurt to *New-England*, but they have come to lamentable ends at last. *New-England* hath been a burthensome stone, all that have burthened themselves with it, have been cut in pieces.²⁷

II

The vigorous leadership which so distinguished the Puritan colonies in the seventeenth century was typically English in its emphasis upon the privileges and the duties of clergy and aristocracy. Winthrop, Dudley, Cotton, and Mather agreed with Barnabie Rich, who gathered out of his *Fruites of Long Experience*,

Thus giving Nobilities her due, I preferre the Noble to be most worthy of this great command [of an army], knowing that the bare tytle is more effectuall to draw a reverant regard, and to enforce a more dutifull obedience in an Army, then [*sic*] the largest Commission.²⁸

Military titles treasured in diaries, letters, court records, and deeds show how in the English wilderness of New England colonels explored the forest, majors surveyed, captains solemnized marriages, and sergeants kept inns. A list of those present at the General Court of Massachusetts reads as if a few civilians were meeting with the general staff. The four deputies chosen to open the proxies at the General Assembly of Rhode Island, May 1, 1677, were "Capt. Peleg Sanford, Mr. John Whipple, John Sanford, and Capt. John Greene."²⁹ Among the eighteen general officers of the colony chosen at that election were one major, four captains, and one lieutenant. Pacifist Rhode Island was no exception. The leading soldier and the leading citizen were one and the same.

The early New Englanders, probably because of necessity, followed in theory and practice the current English ideal that "*the Souldier and the Citizen Make but one man.*"³⁰ Physicians and surgeons were exempted from specific military services because it was taken for granted that they would attend the troops.³¹ On the other hand, sailors, constantly away and therefore hardly available for training and war service, were expected to keep on hand their justly apportioned stock of arms.³² Samuel Willard preached before the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company,

It is an ill time, when the *Trumpet* of War is sounded . . . for a people then to have their Forts to build, their Arms, Ammunition and Provision to seek, and their Souldiers Untrained. . . . Men, Women and Children, Young and Old; none

²⁷ Mather, *Brief History*, p. 50.

²⁸ Rich, p. 15.

²⁹ *R. I. Col. Recs.*, II, 565.

³⁰ William Barrieffe, *Mars, His Triumph*, etc. (London, 1639), p. 4.

³¹ "Dudley Records," *Proc. M.H.S.*, second series, XIII, 269.

³² *Mass. Bay Recs.*, III, 5-6.

are exempted. . . . Do you not know that whether you will or no, you must be Souldiers?³³

In Connecticut the Council called the people to total war when the news of the Pequot attack arrived, with orders

that none should go to work, nor travel, no, not so much as to church, without arms. A corps of guard of fourteen or fifteen soldiers was appointed to watch every night, and sentinels were set in convenient places about the plantations, the drum beating when they went to the watch, and every man commanded to be in readiness upon an alarm, upon pain of five pound. A day of fast and prayers was also kept.³⁴

Though Plymouth Colony developed the usual set of legal exemptions from training, watch, and ward, its basic law stated, "That all and every person within the colony be subject to such military order for trayning and exercise of armes as shall be thought meet agreed on, and prescribed by the Governor and Assistants."³⁵ Even widows with estates contributed to the maintenance of the watch.³⁶ No one was permitted to "acte in such wilfull way of his owne as may or shall apparently tend to the over throw of himselfe, family, naihborhood, society, or towneshipp wherein hee is scittuated or concerned."³⁷ In theory, and to the best of their abilities, the New England colonies maintained a system of total defense. Even in Rhode Island, where the militia was chronically at its worst,³⁸ "All [were] to traine or pay, without exception," and to maintain ample stocks of firearms and ammunition.³⁹

So it would be a mistake to assume, as certain critics of the Puritans have assumed, that the Puritan aristocracy were merely parade ground leaders and not fighters.⁴⁰ That the Puritans hired excellent soldiers—Standish, Underhill, Patrick, and Gardiner—was true, but they also produced fighting officers as competent as any of their hired men-at-arms. These peaceful, educated, pious gentlemen from the English midlands proved their worldly wisdom by engaging less-than-Puritan Elizabethan commandos fresh from

³³ Samuel Willard, *The Man of War*, etc. (Boston, 1699), pp. 16, 27.

³⁴ P. Vincent, "True Relation, etc.," *Coll. M.H.S.*, third series, VI, 36. See also *Ply. Col. Recs.*, V, 176. In December, 1675, Plymouth provided for daily drill of soldiers in the towns. *Ibid.*, V, 183.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 22 (Jan. 2, 1633/4).

³⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 24 (Apr. 1, 1653).

³⁷ *Ibid.*, V, 192 (Mar. 10, 1675/6).

³⁸ The conscientious objectors of Rhode Island kept the colony's system of defense in a constant state of decay, disturbance, and revision. The Rhode Island system of defense is a topic that had best be treated separately.

³⁹ *R. I. Col. Recs.*, II, 549 (1676).

⁴⁰ "They could make preparations for defence, or direct hostilities; but the utmost indulgence of fanatical conceit, or the most presumptuous confidence in their own judgement, did not prompt them to come to the front when their respective colonies were threatened by savages or Frenchmen." Oliver A. Roberts, *History of the . . . Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Massachusetts, 1637-1888* (Boston, 1895), I, 1.

the battlefields of the Low Countries to teach them the art of war.⁴¹ From the first days of settled government in the New England forest, teachers and pupils patrolled warpaths together.

There were, of course, even in this soldier-citizen society, according to New England laws, certain exemptions: magistrates, deputies to the General Court, deacons, teaching elders, and a servant of each of them; officers of the General Court, the colony treasurer, the auditor-general, and the surveyor-general of arms; the president, fellows, students, and ten servants of Harvard College; school masters, physicians, surgeons, millers, constant herdsmen, masters of ships over twenty tons trading in foreign ports, and, finally, ferrymen and the hangman—all these were excused from ordinary trainings. In addition, most of these leaders and also sergeants and commissioned officers in the trainbands, were excused from the military watch and ward, that is day and night guard duty in time of danger.⁴² Additional privileges to “the better sort” were free pasturage of horses, and much greater pay at general muster time or for certain other services.⁴³ The legal exemptions and privileges were some of the distinctions that marked off leaders from followers in the Puritan frontier of early New England.

Those excused from training were, however, required to possess ample stocks of arms and thus helped to maintain local supplies of guns and gunpowder. From the beginning of settlement every person (excepting magistrates and ministers and their servants) had to be “furnished with good and sufficient armes allowable by the captain or other officers.”⁴⁴ These supplies, maintained by the groups freed from training, therefore, came within the militia system or at least under the supervision of the militia officers. Furthermore, every man who “found” a musket was also held to finding in addition “one pound of powder, 20 bullets and 2 fathoms of match.”⁴⁵ All persons exempt from training but burdened with the finding of these arms and able

⁴¹ For example, Myles Standish and John Underhill. Standish's inclination toward marriage seems to have fitted him into the somewhat restricted Puritan code, but Underhill never was able to sublimate his reckless energies sufficiently to avoid the wrath and suspicion of outraged husbands.

⁴² *Mass. Bay Recs.*, I, 210; II, 194, 221–24; III, 265; IV (pt. 1), 14, 85, 147; V, 30, 33. *The Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut* (Hartford, 1850–90), I, 48; II, 229. (Abbreviated hereafter as *Conn. Col. Recs.*) “And noe excuse to be taken as sufficient for non-trayneing as lawfull, but age, nonage, sicknes, lamenes, or publique barringe of office at that time in the Commonwealth.” *R. I. Col. Recs.*, I, 403.

⁴³ Captain Joshua Hubbard (one of Peter Hobart's tempestuous brothers) was “freed from paying any rates for the public charge of the town during the time that he is chief officer of the town for the exercise of the military company.” Thirteen voters dissented. Solomon Lincoln, *History of the Town of Hingham* (Hingham, 1827), p. 30. This freeing from payment of taxes because of military leadership seems to have been a unique case.

⁴⁴ *Mass. Bay Recs.*, I, 84 (Mar. 22, 1630/1). Connecticut tried the current English practice inherited from the late medieval days of Philip and Mary of assessing men arms according to catagories of wealth. *Conn. Col. Recs.*, II, 285.

⁴⁵ *Mass. Bay Recs.*, I, 85 (Apr. 12, 1631).

to use them were ordered to appear with "their compleat arms before the military commaunders twice in the yeare to bee exercised, except magistrates, elders of churches, phisitions, scholers and surgeons."⁴⁶

Even Governor Winthrop, though he distrusted "The Artillery" because he saw in it the makings of an armed conspiratorial faction,⁴⁷ did not allow himself to be left out of trainband activities. By the possession of a large collection of muskets, pistols, armor, bandoleers, a bullet mold and files, and even parts of a crossbow he set a high standard for civic responsibility.⁴⁸ Loaded with honors and almost worshiped in his lifetime, as colonel of the Middlesex trainband regiment he staged a sham battle against his old rival, ex-Governor Dudley, colonel of the Suffolk regiment.⁴⁹ These officers of the court room and of the council of war loved the pageantry of roar and shout and gay color of a regimental muster. With the title and its perquisites went the center of the stage and prestige and leadership.⁵⁰

Indeed, military titles attained high favor in colonial society. John Hull, one of America's first big businessmen, recorded his progress upward and onward in Boston society by his catalogue of military titles. John Hull, goldsmith, was a prosperous merchant; John Hull, corporal, was married by the governor to the daughter of Edmund Quincy;⁵¹ but John Hull, captain of the eighth Boston company of trained soldiers, was even more than the colonial treasurer, John Hull. He began his career in Boston when God planted him "under the ministry of Mr. John Cotton," and

he made me also, according to the talent he betrusted me with, in some small measure serviceable to his people, and also gave me acceptance and favor in their eyes, and, as a fruit thereof, advancement (I must needs say) above my deserts. I was chosen and accepted a corporal, under the command of my honored Major Gibbons, about the 29th of the 3d month, 1648.

After, when the town divided their one military company into four, I was chosen to be (and accepted) a sergeant, upon the 28th of 4th month, 1652.⁵²

This and similar verbiage when he was elected captain in 1654 is more than he gave to all of King Philip's War. Outside of a few perfunctory notices of burnings, Hull wrote, "See history of the war, printed 1676." Still he aspired to even greater military honors and was satisfied in the year that

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 31 (Sept. 27, 1642). ⁴⁷ Winthrop, I, 260.

⁴⁸ *Proc. M.H.S.*, second series, VII, 143.

⁴⁹ Winthrop, I, 300; Joshua Scottow, "Narrative," *Coll. M.H.S.*, fourth series, IV, 298.

⁵⁰ *Mass. Bay Recs.*, II, 256; III, 137.

⁵¹ Samuel E. Morison, *Builders of the Bay Colony* (Boston, 1930), p. 146. Hull's marriage and elevation to the corporalship occurred about the same time.

⁵² John Hull, "Diary," *Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society*, III (Worcester, 1850, 1857), 145-60. It is only fair to note, however, that as treasurer of the colony, he did more than his share in winning King Philip's War. The sums of money he loaned to the colony during the crisis were never repaid in his lifetime. See also Morison, p. 181.

he was "chosen by the town of Westfield for their deputy to the General Court," for then he "was also chosen by the [Ancient and Honorable] Artillery Company for their captain."⁵³ Thus, with a minimum of real military interest he rose to social and political heights in the system of defense.

The careers of a great number of other aristocratic leaders of Massachusetts Bay are also noteworthy for their identity of military with civil leadership: Governor Winthrop, trainband colonel; Governor Dudley, trainband colonel; Governor Endicott, commander-in-chief and active captain of fighting forces; Israel Stoughton, gadfly among the aristocrats, first captain of the Dorchester trainband, selected to lead the expedition against the Pequots in 1637 (but Mason and Underhill arrived on the scene too soon), soldier in the service of Oliver Cromwell, deputy and assistant of the colony;⁵⁴ Edward Johnson, author and captain; James Oliver, prominent merchant, captain of "The Artillery," leader of a fighting company in the Great Swamp Fight;⁵⁵ Edward Gibbons, freeman 1631, deputy for Boston, captain of "The Artillery," assistant in the General Court, major-general, and possibly an associate of pirates;⁵⁶ Daniel Denison, assistant in the General Court from 1654 to his death in 1682, faithful servant of the system of defense in all ranks from the lowest to the highest;⁵⁷ and finally, the ferocious Richard Davenport, friend of Hugh Peter,⁵⁸ friend of Endicott, captain. Richard Davenport was a superlatively pious Puritan. His every other sentiment was one of worship and praise, yet he relished slaughter of both prisoners and battle opponents at whom he rushed with no caution. On the Pequot expedition he overtook some fugitives, twice ran his pike through one man, then dispatched two more he caught in a death struggle with a fellow English soldier. But a third Indian took refuge under the soldier's body until Davenport and "the Lord gave him his wound in the belly, and soe lost his prey; all which time a crew stood shooting upon mee at 12 foot distance; they stook eleven aroos in my coat and hat, and cloths and flesh."⁵⁹ As Davenport described the mending of the wound in his armpit, his account bears all signs of a clean record of facts. This fighting pious Puritan aristocrat may have had more than his fair share of ferocity and extraordinary adventures, he may not have been typical, but at least he led and was socially acceptable among "the better sort" of Puritan society.

⁵³ Samuel Sewall, too, was captain of "The Artillery." He was John Hull's son-in-law and also chief justice. See *Coll. M.H.S.*, sixth series, I, 217.

⁵⁴ Roberts, I, 31, 119. ⁵⁵ *Coll. M.H.S.*, fifth series, I, 105n.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 233n.; Morison, p. 147.

⁵⁷ *Coll. M.H.S.*, fourth series, VIII, 533.

⁵⁸ Hugh Peter, an active artillery officer under Gustavus Adolphus, was one of the original organizers of the Massachusetts system of defense. Then he returned to Europe to take part in the military and political opposition to Charles I.

⁵⁹ *Coll. M.H.S.*, fifth series, I, 246-47.

Plymouth colony began its existence with a first-class fighting governor, Edward Winslow. He treated directly with the Indians, conducted exploration parties into the interior, disputed the Dutch on the Connecticut River, and died at sea while in command of an expedition against the Spanish West Indies.⁶⁰ He was appointed to this, his last, command by Oliver Cromwell, another Englishman of similar aristocratic, Puritan, and fighting tendencies. The fighting son, Josiah Winslow, closely paralleled his father's career: assistant, governor, commissioner of the United Colonies, and commander-in-chief of the English forces in the biggest battle with the Indians on New England soil, the Great Swamp Fight of December 19, 1675.⁶¹ The high regard in which the quiet people of New Plymouth held their fighting aristocrats is further indicated by the honor shown to Major William Bradford, wounded in the Great Swamp Fight and called by John Cotton, "a great part of our glory";⁶² the fame of Captain Benjamin Church, the fighting carpenter who "got" King Philip; and the political advancement of his lieutenant, Jabez Howland, elected deputy to the General Court fifteen years later.⁶³ All these gentlemen combined civil and military leadership of a high order.

Connecticut, too, valued her fighting leaders. No name ranked higher than that of the professional soldier and founder, Captain John Mason. Deputy, magistrate, deputy-governor, assistant, chief military officer of Connecticut for a generation after his victory over the Pequots, and chief of Indian relations for Connecticut and for the New England Confederation, Captain John Mason was an outstanding leader among the Puritan aristocrats. Another leader of Connecticut Puritanism was the devoted, slow, charming, tolerant, and wealthy Wait Winthrop, brother of the fighting Fitz-John. Wait Winthrop captained the New London trainband at the age of twenty-three, served as captain of a fighting company throughout King Philip's War, and during the last generation of his long life held a major-generalship in the Massachusetts militia. His record in the fighting forces of the three colonies is unique.⁶⁴

Even in pacifist Rhode Island the soldier and the civilian leader were one and the same. Roger Williams, preacher of nonviolence, founder of the colony, commissioner, assistant and deputy in the General Assembly, assumed the burdens of fighting leadership in his old age. When the Indians burned Providence, the colonial Assembly sent him and his trainband com-

⁶⁰ Niles, "History," *Coll. M.H.S.*, fourth series, V, 348.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, VIII, 233n.

⁶² John Cotton to Increase Mather, *ibid.*, VIII, 228.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, VIII, 231.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, sixth series, V, xiv, 26.

pany to re-occupy and hold the line.⁶⁵ In this final struggle, Roger Williams acquitted himself like any other practical Englishman of his time. Whether in diplomacy, in political theory, in civil government, or in fighting he was always the leader.

All of this evidence of the fighting abilities of the Puritan clergy and magistracy may seem to be utterly at variance with the system of exemptions from trainband service found in the Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Rhode Island, New Haven, and Connecticut colony records. From a perusal of the laws alone, military service would seem to have been abandoned to the indifference and indolence of "the worser sort." Compulsory militia service in the eyes of seventeenth century English gentlemen was held to be degrading. To be exempted from trudging up and down and across and around the village common while elders and gentlewomen, Indians and "goodies" looked on was one of the privileges associated with those "bred to learning" and to sainthood. However, the practical Puritan brusquely brushed aside tradition and good form whenever he and his men had to go through with "good ruff worke." No matter how their civilian privileges were written into law, the aristocracy maintained a tight grip on the active leadership of trainbands, fighting companies, fortified towns, stocks of powder and arms, watch and ward, and all other sectors of the system of defense. Once they had established their social position with their fellows in terms of privileges written down in the books of law, then they freely assumed the burdens of domination for the very survival of their little cities of God tucked away in the wilderness.

III

Throughout the seventeenth century there was no one set procedure by which officers of the trainbands obtained their commissions. According to law, only the General Court (or Assembly) was empowered to grant commissions. Nominations or elections (the terms were almost interchangeable) of trainband officers were confirmed by one of the county courts or by the General Court.⁶⁶ Yet in the case of John Sanborne, a nonfreeman who was

⁶⁵ *R. I. Col. Recs.*, II, 547. This use of the trainband as a fighting company is almost a unique case in early New England history. And in this case, the trainband was brigaded with the fighting company of Captain Arthur Fenner.

⁶⁶ "None but the Generall Court hath power to make and establishe lawes, nor to elect and appoynt officers as Gouvernor . . . Capitaines, Leiutenents, Ensignes, or any of like moment." *Mass. Bay Recs.*, I, 117 (May 14, 1634). "It is only in the power of the Generall Court . . . to nominate, choose, appoint, and impowre all commission millitary officers . . . and for all inferior officers in companies, they are to bee chosen and appointed by the commission officers of that company." *Ibid.*, IV (pt. 2), 422 (May 19, 1669). "Their military commissioned officers are elected by the soldiers of the severall Companys. Their Charter directs that such officers be appointed by the Generall Assembly, or by the Governor and Assistants, in cases of exigence." "Report of the Earl of Bellomont," *R. I. Col. Recs.*, III, 385-86. Governor Cranston claimed,

elected captain of the military company of Hampton, the Essex Quarterly Court referred his confirmation to the General Court.⁶⁷ Again, when the Portsmouth trainband elected two nonfreemen to be their officers, the General Court ordered them "to officiate in those places till they are admitted to the Fredome of this country."⁶⁸ Though no law specifically denied commissions to nonfreemen, the General Court of Massachusetts declared that "it is the intent and order of the Court that no person shall hencefourth bee chosen to any office in the commonwealth but such as is a freeman."⁶⁹ Even though his fellows might nominate him, a popular leader from the less favored parts of Puritan society would have been checked by the law and the courts and tradition. On the other hand, such a leader was very likely to be granted freemanship.

The system of freemanship, by which the aristocrats maintained their domination of political and religious affairs, was used in the same way to monopolize commissions in the trainbands and fighting companies. To insure aristocratic purity of the officers' corps the procurement of commissions was hedged about by a long, complicated procedure. After a freeman had received the nomination or election of his fellows in the trainband,⁷⁰ he had to run the gamut of the courts. The county court confirmed the nomination, while the General Court (or Assembly) granted the commission which was then handed down from one higher officer to another. These courts and the hierarchy of officers were composed of freemen, elected by freemen. So, to become an officer of a trainband one had to be elected to freemanship by a court composed of freemen, voted upon by all members of the trainband and other freemen in the town as well, and then be confirmed by a county court of freemen who had been elected by freemen only. There was still the commission to be procured from the General Court (or Assembly), a body of freemen distilled from the whole body of freemen.⁷¹

In a small town, or for that matter in almost any town, enough positions could be created to take care of almost all of the social leaders by dividing

"ther military officers were chosen by the people, but commissioned by the Governor." *Ibid.*, III, 390.

⁶⁷ George F. Dow, ed., *Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County Massachusetts, 1636-1683* (Salem, 1911-21), III, 199 (1666). (Abbreviated hereafter as *Essex Quart. Courts.*)

⁶⁸ *Mass. Bay Recs.*, IV (pt. 2), 326.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 188. See also *R. I. Col. Recs.*, II, 190. Few generalizations may be drawn from the Rhode Island system save that it was changing and being neglected all of the time.

⁷⁰ There seems to have been almost no popular nomination of officers by the fighting companies. The fighting companies were raised, officered, and directed by the central authorities.

⁷¹ In a curious fit of mental aberration the General Assembly of Rhode Island just after receiving their second charter, denied the right to vote for militia officers to freemen. Three years later they recovered their sense of what was proper. See *R. I. Col. Recs.*, II, 116, and III, 10.

foot companies and by creating companies of troopers. Each company had five favored positions—captain, lieutenant, cornet, quartermaster, and sergeant—and no one could hold two such positions. Furthermore, limiting the companies of troopers to only half as many men as in the foot companies provided many more positions of authority suitable for those who kept horses.⁷² This process of multiplication of titles may not have been conscious, probably it was not, but as it worked out, there were plenty of titles for “the better sort.”

Upon this basis of freemen electing, checking, and confirming each other in civil and military affairs, it may appear that New England was ruled by a narrow oligarchy. However, a study of these elections, confirmations, and checking as they affected the aristocratic leadership of the trainbands and fighting companies may alter that opinion, for the jealousies and rivalries among freemen contributed to democratic self-government through the popular choice of military leaders. The most fundamental concession to the demand for popular leadership within the trainbands and other militia activities was the granting of almost full manhood suffrage in the election of officers. The law read:

All persons of any trayned band, both freemen and others, who have taken the oath of residents, or shall take the same, and being no covenant servant in household with any other, shall have their votes in nomination of those persons who are to bee appointed captaines, or other inferior officers of the same band, provided they nominate none but such as shalbe freemen.⁷³

To be sure, voting was only a nomination and the choice was limited to freemen only; but the very habit of annual elections schooled the people in the democratic processes, especially in electing to leadership their “meetest person.” An officer’s loss of popularity with his men gave another freeman a chance to rise, and an opportunity for the arms-bearing nonfreemen to become politically active in civil, church, and military affairs. The Hingham militia case, which developed into a tug-of-war between the clerico-magisterial group against the commoners, arose out of rivalry between two freemen, one willing to supplant the other in the affections of the soldiers. Pastor Peter Hobart became the leading figure in this town trainband quarrel which soon involved the General Court and the entire colony and finally brought the deputy governor to trial for arbitrary government.⁷⁴ The militia quarrel that upset Newbury for two years and thereby seriously weakened the northern frontier also arose out of “the dissensions and disagreements that con-

⁷² *Mass. Bay Recs.*, III, 265, 398; IV (pt. 1), 80, 86, 257; *Conn. Col. Recs.*, I, 48, 281, 381; *R. I. Col. Recs.*, I, 121; II, 190, 206, 207, 214, 217. In Newport and Portsmouth, Rhode Island, there were six elected military positions in 1642: Captain, Lieutenant, Ensign, Senior Sergeant, Junior Sergeant, and Clarke. *Ibid.*, I, 121.

⁷³ *Mass. Bay Recs.*, I, 188.

⁷⁴ Winthrop, *passim*.

tinued to disturb the peace and harmony of the church." John Emery, freeman, led one faction while Archelaus Woodman, freeman, led the other until peace was restored by two major-generals sent out by the General Court.⁷⁵ These little but bitter struggles for leadership illustrate the precarious unity of the Puritan frontier in which town, church, and trainband adjusted themselves to the new demands of a new order wherein the body of the people with arms in their homes could hardly be coerced.

Even in fighting companies slightings of authority by a significant body of men could hardly be controlled, and when some of the freemen supported the mutineers, the central authorities were reduced almost to helplessness. While no precedents were apparently set by the Hinksman (or Henchman) mutiny in King Philip's War, the mutiny did show that the General Court could not afford to insist upon obedience to its appointed commanders against the wishes of the men and of some of their leaders from the body of freemen. Captain Hinksman was a brave and capable officer who had won undeserved unpopularity for his wisely lenient treatment of the Indians. His unpopularity and that of his friend Captain Guggins (or Gookin) was intensified by the bitter taunts of the aristocratic Captain Oliver and by the rabble-rousing speeches of the ex-pirate Captain Mosely. The result of these attacks upon Captain Hinksman and Captain Guggins was the soldiers' loss of confidence in Captain Hinksman and their mutiny before the Roxbury Meeting House as they were about to set out on the march. The General Court, realizing that it had no power with which to bring the mutineers into line, dismissed Captain Hinksman and appointed another captain in his place under whom the soldiers apparently did nothing.⁷⁶

Another compromise by authority and aristocracy for the sake of harmony and defense was winking at leadership without commissioned officers. The citizen soldiers of Haverhill seem to have lacked leaders to such an extent that they appeared before the Essex County Court "destitute of an officer to exercise or command them." The Court thereupon ordered "all the inhabitants of Haverhill who have a right to vote for the election of officers . . . [to] meet and elect their 'meetest person' sergeant, to be confirmed at this court or the court of Norfolk." Another part of the record indicates that the sergeant so elected was to be confirmed only by the major of the county.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ John J. Currier, *History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902* (Boston, 1902), pp. 41, 84, 496.

⁷⁶ George M. Bodge, *Soldiers in King Philip's War* (2d ed., Leominster, Mass., 1896), p. 53; N[athaniel] S[altonstall], *Present State of New England*, p. 13. "Very few at his [Captain Hinksman's] Funeral, his own Servants, a white and black, carried him to, and put him in his Grave. His Wife and children following and no more, or but one or two more." Samuel Sewall, "Diary," *Coll. M. H. S.*, fifth series, V, 100 (Oct., 1685).

⁷⁷ *Essex Quart. Courts*, I, 142 (Mar., 1648). From both the official records of the court and from the "Waste Book" kept by the clerk unofficially.

To be sure, the magistrates held onto their check rein of supervision; still, there was a people's choice.

Nevertheless, freemanship among the Puritans was generally confined to members of the church with "an interest in society" and was the basis of religious, civil, and military domination. The leaders of Connecticut wrote into their fundamental laws that property qualifications were to be used to limit the much misunderstood term "the people" to those possessed of a substantial amount of land. In Plymouth, leadership maintained itself in much the same way, although the liberal democratic tendencies of that colony stood out by not emphasizing church membership as a *sine qua non* for the full citizen. Myles Standish was a freeman, captain of the town company, but not a member of the church. Even in the democracy of Rhode Island,⁷⁸ discrimination against the lower classes developed when the common lands were enclosed by those who had gradually monopolized economic, and, as a result, political power.⁷⁹ These were the men who used their freemanship to exclude "the meaner sort" from military leadership.

Thus a confused, unconscious, but implicit struggle for democracy underlay every little meetinghouse trainband quarrel in which the nonfreeman majority pitted itself against the tradition of leadership by well-born gentlemen.⁸⁰ In vain with honeyed phrases did the reasonable and astute Winthrop plead for the aristocratic old order against the Hingham trainband rioters. The men of Hingham, like those of other trainbands and fighting companies, would be governed only by officers whom they chose from among their friends and neighbors.⁸¹ Even though some irate aristocrat should brand the following hint from the deputies of the General Court to the magistrates as "Acts illegall," it was true that among men who owned their guns and used them daily to fill the family pot "A good understanding . . . contynued and increased betwixt governors and governed . . . is the cheife strangth of this commonwealth, as of all others."⁸²

⁷⁸ From the very first the democracy of Rhode Island was hedged about with saving clauses, as for instance: "It is ordered and unanimously agreed upon, that the Government . . . is a DEMOCRACIE, or Popular Government; that is to say, It is in the Powre of the Body of Freemen." *R. I. Col. Recs.*, I, 112 (1641). Five years later a similar demonstration of cautious radicalism declared a faith in "democratically" government. Yet in setting up the trainband system it was "the Body of the people, viz.: the Traine Band" who chose their officers for presentation "to the Magistrates for their approbation." *Ibid.*, I, 93 (1639).

⁷⁹ Samuel H. Brockunier, "Roger Williams and Early Rhode Island Democracy," *American Historical Review*, XLII (Apr., 1937), 433.

⁸⁰ The proportion between freemen and nonfreemen is a debatable question, but evidence seems to point to the conclusion that the freemen were a minority. See Morison, pp. 340-41.

⁸¹ "Wee have for some time past, and at present doe live (becing but a small place) under the Conduct of our loveing friend and neighbour, John Hoyt, senior, our Chosen and established sergeant and chiefe military officer here, hee becing (as wee conceive) suteable for us." *Essex Quart. Courts*, IV, 429.

⁸² *Mass. Bay Recs.*, III, 310.

Some Bryce-Jameson Correspondence

LEO FRANCIS STOCK*

IN 1905, John Franklin Jameson came to Washington from the University of Chicago to succeed Professor A. C. McLaughlin as director of the Department (later Division) of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. Until his retirement, in 1928, his office was a clearinghouse of historical interests in the United States. As he expressed it, he was "a sort of *proxenos* of the historical fraternity." The editing of the *American Historical Review* was carried on by him and his staff, and the headquarters of the American Historical Association were then located in the offices of his department. His correspondence was enormous, his contacts universal.

Among his closer friends was Viscount Bryce, who, from 1907 to 1913, was in Washington as the British ambassador and who, from 1906 until his death in 1922, was the sole honorary member of the American Historical Association. His *American Commonwealth* (1888) Jameson considered "the greatest of his works and the most important book ever written about the United States." As some of the letters here printed show, Bryce never lost interest in American political happenings. When announcement was made in the press of his appointment to Washington, Jameson wrote to the ambassador (December 24, 1906), "We are delighted at the prospect of having you with us for some years, and especially in such a capacity. No one could be so perfectly *persona grata* to our people, and especially to those of us who are interested in historical and political studies."

In Washington, mutual intellectual interests, numerous walks, and frequent exchange of notes concerning individuals, books, places, and current events, enriched the friendship between these two scholars. Both enjoyed walking. Shortly after Bryce's arrival, Jameson wrote (April 17, 1907), "I know of an excellent walk on which I should like to take you, if you would permit me." At another time Bryce wrote, "I shall hope within the next few days to suggest a time for another walk." The letters here published make mention of other excursions of this kind. They also show honest disagreement in opinions. The writers could, for example, take sides in a discussion

*Dr. Stock has been a member of the staff of the Division of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution since 1910. He is now editing Dr. Jameson's letters with a view to future publication.

over the relative popularity of the French and English people in America, and Jameson could question the British handling of the Irish question, though neither loved the Irish as a race.

Dr. Jameson's friends will see in his letters the remarkable Jameson they knew and loved—scholarly, obliging, wise in his judgments, possessing rare humor, having historical precedents and allusions at easy command, and able to embellish a fine style with apt quotations of verse and prose.

These letters were selected from the files of the Division of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. The Jameson letters are printed, without signatures, from carbon copies. Bryce's originals are both typewritten and in his own handwriting; the former, in most cases, are considerably lengthened by additional matter written with pen and ink. Permission to print the letters from Lord and Lady Bryce was obtained through the aid of the Honorable Harold Butler of the Ministry of Information, London, from Messrs. Warren, Murton, Foster, and Shaw, acting for the executors of Viscountess Bryce, who was the executrix and sole legatee under the will of her husband.

November 27, 1907.

MY DEAR MR. BRYCE:

I did not wish to take more of your time this morning; but your mention at the end of our conversation of the dinner of the Trustees of the Carnegie Institution on December 10 leads me to venture a suggestion. No doubt for any formal remarks which you may make you have either already selected a subject or may easily select one which would be more to your satisfaction than anything in the direction of which I write. But it seems quite possible that in conversation an opportunity might arise, if you thought fit to use it, to speak a useful word which rather needs to be spoken to some at least of the Trustees.

What I allude to is not a matter of my own department or one which concerns it otherwise than indirectly. I believe that all historical scholars who take any interest in the affairs of the Carnegie Institution have felt and must feel that while a reasonable amount has been done for history and political economy, the Trustees have in general most lamentably neglected to deal with the humanities in anything like the same manner in which they have dealt with the physical sciences. The most serious criticism which has been made upon their conduct has been that they have over-emphasized the latter. The criticism is perfectly just. With the federal government spending, here in Washington and elsewhere, such enormous sums in the furtherance of certain of the physical sciences, a strong case could be made out for the statement that it was the duty of the Trustees of the Carnegie Institution to over-emphasize humanistic studies, which in this practical country are relatively less well endowed. Anyhow, the course which they pursued was marked by striking inequality. It has always been their statement that they had no intention of neglecting philological, literary and other such researches. But in point of fact, while they have done something for these by scattered grants, they did not at the beginning appoint advisory committees in these sciences as they did in the physical sciences, political economy and history,

and so took no measures for obtaining expert advice as to what were the things most needing to be done in these fields. Therefore such small sums as they have spent in them have in several cases been directed toward objects which, though pressed upon their attention by certain scholars, would hardly have been selected as of the maximum importance by a carefully composed committee charged with responsibility of recommending the ideally best expenditures.

The enterprises then undertaken in the physical sciences, starting some of them with enormous expenditures and some with less, have grown on their hands until they absorb the whole available income of the Institution. I am not able to say whether the Trustees *could* any longer do substantial justice to the needs of the humanities if they would, though I believe there is still some chance. But it is clear that many of the most influential trustees and President Woodward himself distinctly undervalue these studies in comparison with those of the physical sciences. President Woodward has declared to me that astronomy, which has received much the largest grants, has done more for the development of the human mind than any two other sciences. This I think to be quite beside the point. Most of the great things which astronomy did for the human mind were done before 1850. In the last fifty years, excepting spectroscopic discoveries, I do not see that it has done more than many another science; and it is the last fifty years by which we can best judge of the next fifty. More broadly speaking, these gentlemen do not perceive, and most of them are not so trained as to perceive, the real utility of philological and historical studies. I have endeavored to point out to President Woodward that it is just as essential to clear the human mind of error and set it to thinking correctly upon the relations of man to man and of nation to nation as upon the relations of man to the universe, and have told him that no discovery of which I have heard as occurring in the physical sciences during the last fifty years has done so much to improve the quality of European thinking as those advances which have been made by the study of Oriental religions alone, to name only one aspect of the developments which have come out of comparative religion, comparative jurisprudence and comparative philology.¹ I have tried to show him the immense importance of these things in a world where three hundred million non-Europeans are ruled over by European administrators and in which nations are so constantly being drawn into close relations one with another. If it happens to fall in your way at any time to convince any of these gentlemen of the value of such considerations, or otherwise to promote on their part a fuller appreciation of the usefulness of expenditures in other fields than those of physical science, I am sure that the Institution and the country will have great cause to be grateful to you.

Please pardon me for inflicting upon you so long a letter. I did not mean to do so when I began.

With the highest regard,

Very truly yours,

December 4, 1907.

MY DEAR MR. BRYCE:

I find myself in possession, without knowing exactly how, of the card on which I wrote for you the name of the Wisconsin official respecting whom you inquired. It is Charles McCarthy, Ph.D., Legislative Reference Librarian, Madi-

¹ This discussion was developed at greater length by Dr. Jameson in a letter of December 22, 1906, to Robert S. Woodward, president of the Carnegie Institution of Washington from 1904 to 1920. Files of the Department of Historical Research.

son, Wisconsin.² I am writing to him to send you such printed matter as he will have at hand which will explain the nature of his very important and useful office. If he does not send you enough to make it all clear, please let me know; but I am pretty sure that he will, as he loves to talk about his work, not to say about himself. He is the most interesting pupil I ever had in my life and has had an extraordinary career, of which he may well be proud. He came to Brown University as a wild Irish lad of the roughest appearance, the son of a mechanic in Brockton, and at first appeared to be chiefly a football player. He was indeed the best such player that they ever had at Brown University, but he presently made it plain that he came there to study. He earned his own subsistence through college, did remarkable work in history and such things, grew year by year, all the time seeing only one year ahead, but was full of Irish enthusiasm and devotion to high ideals. After he got his doctor's degree at the University of Wisconsin he was put into this newly created position. It was thought of as a small matter but he has made it an important instrument in the management of Wisconsin affairs, potent for good (for he is trusted by all parties and perfectly disinterested) and a model which other states are beginning to follow. Two other pupils of mine hold similar positions in the administrations of New York and Indiana. But I will leave it to the printed matter which Mr. McCarthy will send to explain the machinery in detail.

I hope that you got home without mishap from New York and that you did not find yourself excessively tired by the excursion. It was the greatest pleasure to all members of the Council [of the American Historical Association] to have you with us, and it made the dinner a memorable one for all. We are deeply indebted to you for coming and for what you said.

Believe me,

Very truly yours,

December 16, 1907.

MY DEAR MR. BRYCE:

I may exaggerate the seriousness with which you inquired Saturday evening as to the Gelehrten in Washington as distinguished from the Naturforscher; but as I mentioned such a partial set I think I will proceed, at the risk of being a little too systematic, to give you a little list of those that now occur to me.

Any list of Gelehrten in the United States is apt to begin with the name of "Adams". Here we shall have, and therefore I include him, though we haven't him yet, Mr. Charles Francis Adams, whose new Washington house he will occupy from some time early in January until into the spring. Mr. Henry Adams, his brother, has I think already returned from Paris; at any rate he is usually to be counted on as living in Washington through the winter. Also, not a relative of theirs, there is Professor Henry C. Adams of the University of Michigan, who for two years is released from his duties at Ann Arbor and is here as statistician of the Inter-state Commerce Commission. Others, in the non-invidious alphabetical order, whom I should think one ought certainly to class as Gelehrten, are:

Dr. Cyrus Adler, assistant secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, a good worker in Oriental archaeology and Hebrew history.

Dr. Frederic Bancroft, who has written a good life of Seward and is now working at an elaborate history of the Confederate states.

² Edward A. Fitzpatrick, *McCarthy of Wisconsin* (New York, 1944). (See review below, p. 370.) In 1902, McCarthy's study of *The Anti-Masonic Party* won the Justin Winsor prize of the American Historical Association.

Dr. George M. Bolling, professor of Sanscrit (and Greek) in the Catholic University, who however resides in town.

Mr. Worthington C. Ford, chief of the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress.

Father P. J. Healy, assistant professor of church history in the Catholic University.

Mr. F. W. Hodge of the Bureau of American Ethnology, who has a large knowledge of Southwestern history.

Mr. Justice O. W. Holmes.

Father Henri Hyvernat, professor of Oriental languages in the Catholic University.

Father Thomas J. Hughan [Shahan], professor of church history there.

Father E. T. Shanahan, professor of dogmatic theology in the same institution, who however has also a large knowledge of canon law and I believe of medieval philosophy.

Professor J. Macbride Sterrett, professor of philosophy in the George Washington University.

There may be others in that institution who are scholars of the same rank as these but I am not sure of it in any case, nor am I sure about the professors of Georgetown University, except Father E. I. Devitt, who beside being professor of philosophy also occupies a sort of chair of Maryland Colonial History. He is learned in his particular line, and indeed I think in other ways, though after a somewhat snuffy and old-fashioned manner.

I dare say this is all and more than all that you care to have me tell you, and indeed I feel sure that several of these gentlemen are already known to you.

I forgot to say when we walked yesterday afternoon, with how much pleasure I heard from one of the Trustees of the Carnegie Institution that at their dinner you spoke regarding the need of doing something for the humanities and, he said, with great effectiveness.

Believe me, with kind regards,

Very sincerely yours,

December 19, 1908.

MY DEAR MR. BRYCE:

A young Norwegian historical scholar, Dr. Halvdan Koht of the University of Christiania, who is in Washington for the winter, expects to attend the meetings of the American Historical Association. I venture to suggest that a card of invitation to the reception at the Embassy be sent to him at "231 North Capitol street", for I think that the opportunity to meet the members there would be very gratifying to him.³

Very truly yours,

³ Prominent Norwegian historian, president of the International Committee of Historical Sciences from 1926 to 1933, and later minister of foreign affairs. December 28, following the reading of Bryce's paper, "The Relations of Political Science to History and to Practice" (*American Political Science Review*, III (Feb., 1909), 1-19), a reception was tendered at the British Embassy to members of the associations then meeting in Washington. Jameson wrote (Nov. 16) to assure Bryce that the place and the hour of the reception would be correctly understood by all, though "mankind has a strange power, hitherto uncatalogued by psychologists, of misunderstanding notices the most explicit."

BRITISH EMBASSY, WASHINGTON,
March 22, 1911.

MY DEAR PRESIDENT JAMESON,

Thank you very much for the little essay on Kansas which you have kindly sent me. It was very thoughtful of you to get me these aldrücke and I am extremely interested to hear that the pleasing German custom of consecrating a literary work to a friend and teacher is taking root in this country.

Mr. Becker's essay, from the few pages which I have yet had time to read, seems not only very interesting, but, as you say, extremely fresh and well written.⁴

I am

Very truly yours,
JAMES BRYCE

October 2, 1913

MY DEAR MR. BRYCE:

I was not insensible of your kindness in sending me a copy of your book of addresses,⁵ but I waited until I had read it before writing to you, and this, it happened, could not be until the summer was almost over. Then came September with its own troubles, such as that of removal from the sea-shore of Maine to the mountain heights of 1140 Woodward Building, and so I have not written you. Please accept now my thanks for the gift, and assurance that I have profited from the reading of the book. Suggestion of new points of view, thoughts to dwell upon, wiser counsels about things on which I have secretly dogmatized—all these things I get in abundance from any of your books, as also from your talk while you were here.

It is still a matter of sadness that you are here no more. I go by the embassy with a little pain each time, and wish ardently that I could have another walk with you. I thought of it especially last Sunday when, having gone out to church at the Cathedral, I came back along Massachusetts Avenue through the region which the ruthless hand of the real-estate speculator has shaved clean of trees where once stood the fine forest through which you took me upon our first walk after your arrival in Washington. But though they could not be saved, except partially, much good is beginning to come from various other efforts you made while here to make people see what might be made and should be made of Washington. The city, by the way, looks finely this autumn, and shows much less damage from the great storm in July than I had expected, indeed comparatively little, though a few fine old trees in Lafayette Square have suffered or been destroyed.

I have not yet been in Washington long enough to pick up any valuable political information, and know nothing beyond what is probably in all the dispatches. My Johns Hopkins mate, the President, seems to be pleasing most persons, of the sort I encounter; but I am very sorry to see him allowing a reaction to take place with respect to negroes in public offices. In certain departments a segregation of white and colored, not thought necessary till now, has been effected

⁴ This essay appeared in a volume of *Essays in American History, Dedicated to Frederick Jackson Turner*, edited by G. S. Ford, which was presented by former pupils at the University of Wisconsin at the Indianapolis meeting of 1910, when Turner was president of the Association. Sending the separate, Jameson wrote, March 21, 1911, "It quite pleases me to find among the younger members of the profession one who can see and write so well." The Turner volume was the first of a growing list of such *Festschriften*.

⁵ *University and Historical Addresses: Delivered during a Residence in the United States as Ambassador of Great Britain* (New York, 1913).

by southern members of the cabinet, and I cannot help viewing it sadly, as an unwarranted move in the wrong direction. You will perhaps also have noted the passage of a municipal ordinance in Baltimore attempting to confine negro occupation to certain specific areas of the city. On the whole, however, I do not know that the reaction in respect to race feeling which marked the first decade of the century is now continued with much force.

I do not for a moment imagine that you have been at a loss for things with which to occupy your time of well-earned leisure. Yet I have it on my mind to make one suggestion, which came to me vividly as a result of the International Congress of Historical Studies last spring. Out of a hundred papers presented there by British subjects only one was concerned wholly and another partially with the history of the United States. What I have heard respecting the attendance upon lectures on American History recently instituted at Oxford leads to the same conclusion; and indeed it is plain that exceedingly few Englishmen take the slightest interest in American History—the most remarkable exception having been a Tory squire and I believe M. F. H., Mr. J. A. Doyle.⁶ One can easily see reasons why the number of persons thus interested should be few, but after all nearly two-thirds of those who speak English are on this side of the water and it cannot be entirely healthy and rational that almost none of the English historical scholars should interest themselves in the fortunes of that two-thirds. This is to say nothing of the benefit it would be to us to see the story discussed from their point of view. Certainly there was much profit in reading Doyle, numerous as were his errors. I am afraid it is rather presumptuous for me to make suggestions to you, but it is plain that you could do more than anyone else in England to stimulate interest in American History among the younger generation.

Mrs. Jameson has not yet returned to Washington, though I am expecting her in a few days. She would wish to be kindly remembered by you and by Mrs. Bryce. Please present to Mrs. Bryce my very kind regards; I hope she knows how deeply I regret her absence from our town, but I have no doubt that you are both happy in Sussex. I have never been in the county, but if it is as beautiful as Hampshire one should be.

I hope there will be things that I can do for you in Washington. I try to be a sort of *proxenos* of the historical fraternity here, and can at all events be rung up as a "Central" whenever one wishes to communicate with the historical student of a specific sort, or as "Information" when one is seeking for any document or item of knowledge in Washington. It will be a great pleasure to testify in any such way my gratitude and my affectionate regard.

Believe me to be with most cordial wishes,

Very sincerely yours,

3, BUCKINGHAM GATE, S.W.
21st. November 1917

MY DEAR PROFESSOR JAMESON

Your long letter of October 31st. has been full of interest for me, and I thank you sincerely for telling me as much.⁷ I am particularly interested to hear what

⁶ John Andrew Doyle, *English Colonies in America* (5 vols., New York, 1882–1907). The last two volumes are reviewed by C. M. Andrews in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XIII (Jan., 1908), 360–64. The M.F.H. (Master of the Fox Hounds) is a characteristic Jameson touch.

⁷ In this letter, Jameson wrote of his project which later appeared as David M. Matteson's *List of MSS. concerning American History Preserved in European Libraries and Noted in Their Published Catalogues* (Washington, Carnegie Institution, 1926); mentioned a proposed survey

is being done by your millionaire for a survey of Mexico in its economic, social and political aspects. The idea is admirable, but, of course, everything would depend upon the quality of the men. Would it not be a good plan to draw up for them an outline of the points to which their enquiries should be directed, particularly on the social and political side, so that they might be sure of getting the right point of view, and of fixing their attention upon some of the details which may be more significant than [than] conspicuous? It would be a good thing if such men were occasionally to consult you, or someone else who could advise them like you could, so as to be guided in their lines of enquiry. I think few people here understand Mexico, but I might perhaps get some suggestions from those interested in the subject. Maudslay, the archaeologist, lived some years in Mexico, and is a very intelligent man. He is now in London. If you think it any use I could send some questions myself which occurred to me when I visited the country, but to which I could not give answers, and which ought to be answered.

The most interesting evolution for study that the world has seen for over one hundred years is now presented by Russia. Two or three students of political science could render immense service by describing exactly what has been passing there for the last eight months and is passing now. In many respects the phenomena are more novel and more curious than even those of France, 1789 to 1799. I do not know any case in which the easily adopted assumptions and fallacies about the goodness and wisdom and power of the "people" have been so conspicuously shown to be baseless, and in which the need for leadership and organisation among masses of men has been so clearly demonstrated. But we want far more of the real facts than we have been able to get so far. It is said that the Jews count for much. Many of the Bolshevik leaders are Jewish, apparently Socialists. Some are undoubtedly German agents.

The paper on Historical Students in War Time is interesting and timely. Some little work of the kind indicated for National Board has been done here, chiefly by G. W. Prothero, Gilbert Murray, J. W. Headlam, but historians are a very small class here compared with the many hundreds in America. One would like to see two things done—One a history of the military spirit, its doctrine & manifestations, from the "Great Elector" down to our time. The other an examination of the German contentions as to the origin of and responsibility for this War—not the mere circumstances of the Outbreak, but the underworking causes from 1871, & especially since the alliance of France & Russia. Fear of Russia probably had more than anything else to do with precipitating Germany's action. How vain are forecasts. The Russian autocracy had only four years to live when Germany determined to anticipate the danger it threatened. It was not the war but Rasputin who destroyed the Tsardom.

As a matter of curiosity, I should like to see the best case that could be made for Germany set out fairly. Of course both S.E. European and West Asian problems need most careful and luminous elucidation by history.

Your mention of the work of historical scholars leads me to refer to the strong evidence which the war has furnished of the continued aversion of the less educated part of the American people to Great Britain. Nearly all my American friends tell me, that the preference of France for England among your people has been so marked as to surprise even them, and this must surely be partly due to the

of the economic, social, and political aspects of Mexico; discussed the subject of dialectic forms of the Norwegian language; and told of the work of the National Board for Historical Service. (See Waldo G. Leland's account of the National Board, *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1919, I, 161-89.)

school books, which, though less now than formerly, have given partial and exaggerated accounts of the events of the Revolution, and to the singular fact that the semi-educated don't seem to realise that the history of the United States before the eighteenth century, and, to a considerable extent, down to 1776, is the history of England. I don't know a more curious effect of mistakes in the teaching of history than this comparative want of interest in so intelligent a people in the earlier history of their race. Of course, in England also the masses are strangely ignorant of English history, but then, your people have long been better educated than ours were until recent years. The only countries I have been, where history is really a part of the life of the people are Switzerland, and to some extent, Italy, but in Italy it is rather the Romans than the Italians that excite interest. Do you think that the Historical Society could do anything to cure this defect by its influence upon teaching?

Always sincerely yours
JAMES BRYCE

December 19, 1917.

MY DEAR LORD BRYCE:

I thank you for your very interesting letter of November 21, received this morning. To some things in it I feel disposed to make an immediate reply, knowing that any little information I may send will be put to good use for both countries.

As to the Mexican inquiry, I expect good results, but not the very best. The man who has the matter in charge has selected his investigators a little hastily, so that some of them are not first-rate, and does not pursue, I hear, a steady policy with respect to directing them. They have all gone from here now, but one of them will be here again soon, so that I can learn more; but in any case, I am sure that he and his companions will value in the highest degree Mr. Maudsle[a]y's answers to questions propounded by you.

The Russian phenomena are indeed a wonderful spectacle. I know of two or three students of political science who have dropped their work and gone over there to watch it all. Here in Washington we are quite at sea respecting the real or average state of things, and it is not believed that the Department of State is much better off, or that anybody can predict. Most of the few persons I know that have much acquaintance with Russia, are much depressed. Some say that the Bolsheviki government is so largely Jewish that it is sure to overdo the ordinary methods which Jews have pursued with Russians and to arouse hatred and provoke reaction. Many think that, looking quite beyond the present warfare, Russia is sure ultimately to prosper, but to look beyond the present warfare is hard work just now. I suppose that this great Russian upheaval may play the same part in bringing the whole world over from the regime of democracy to the regime of socialism that the French Revolution played in bringing the world over to democracy, but for Russia itself, I should think it easier to predict emergence into a group of loosely federated regional republics of a socialistic cast than anything more unified. Perhaps we have come to the end of nationalism anyhow. I supposed, before 1914, that this period of four hundred years during which mankind has been chiefly organized in nations was drawing to a close, with international socialism to succeed. I sometimes ask myself whether any despondency we may feel may not be like that which might have been felt by an Englishman or Frenchman about 1470, who would have said to himself, We thought we were

coming to the end of all this feudal anarchy, and about to emerge into some larger synthesis, and here we are in the worst of feudal wars—War of the Roses, Burgundians *vs.* Armagnacs. But he would have been wrong. It was the “clearing-up shower”, and he emerged soon into a regime of unified monarchies. Speculation is vain, but I wonder what will be the effect of the return from Russia of several hundred thousand German prisoners—whether increase of man-power, or increase of subjects sick of war.

What your other American friends tell you of the strong preference of France over against England among our people seems to me to be true in a very marked degree. It is apparent to everyone. A review of a recent book, which I enclose in proof, will probably interest you, and I am asking the author, a rich New Yorker, not known to me, to send you a copy of his book.⁸ For my own part, however, I think that our writers somewhat overestimate the part which school-books have played in creating this state of mind. If the sympathy of our nation for the English nation is less than Englishmen would expect, this is partly due to a great and constant underestimation by the latter of the extent to which we are not of English race. I speak as one who is about 7/8 of English blood to about 1/8 Ulster, and who was brought up in New England and had slowly to learn how little typical is the Boston attitude toward Great Britain. Again, the influence of Irish politicians is a large factor, much larger than would be accounted for simply by the proportionate number of the Irish in America. You know much more fully than I do how desperately active and influential the Irish can make themselves in political life. Writing in 1783, Charles Biddle, who knew Pennsylvania politics through and through, said that, though the Germans in that state were far more numerous than the Irish, the Irish always greatly outnumbered them in the legislature. At St. Louis in 1904, I went into a booth of the Federation of Labor, where I saw around the walls a thousand photographs of labor leaders. They were nearly all Irish, though when you want a first-rate workman, you search for a German or a Swede. In labor politics they are supreme. When Fredericq and Pirenne were deported from Ghent to German detention-camps, and a hundred of us professors of history could not get the Department of State to make any serious effort on their behalf, one of our number roughly said that where those two eminent scholars had made their mistake was in not being born Irish, for if they had been, the President would have been dragged out of his bed by Irish delegations to cable threatening messages on their behalf.—But to you, who have travelled more than any historian since Herodotus, I need not say that there are broader explanations than any of these and that I think they ought not to be ignored by your English friends though it is ungracious in me to refer to them, except for justice' sake. To put it brutally, is it any wonder that the Americans like the French better than the British when, as well as I can make out, everybody else does? There is a quality in the French that enables them to seem sympathetic and likeable to Indians in Canada, to Russians and Italians, and for aught I know, to Hottentots, to an extent which the English cannot rival. The Americans who travel have generally found themselves more at ease with the French whom they met than with the Englishmen; these are a minority of our people, but similar effects have probably come to others, one way and another, from things that they have read or heard about. I admit that our schoolbooks used to sin a good deal in the

⁸ Charles Altschul, *The American Revolution in Our School Text-Books: An Attempt to Trace the Influence of Early School Education on the Feelings toward England in the United States* (New York, 1917), reviewed by C. H. Van Tyne in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXIII (Jan., 1918), 403-404.

respects of which you speak, and some of them do now. Mr. Altschul's book will give you the facts. But after all, our people are not great readers of history, and I think those who put all the emphasis on the schoolbooks are to a large extent, in our homely phrase, barking up the wrong tree.

I will also send you the recent numbers of the *History Teacher's Magazine*, which will show you what the Educational Committee of this Board has been trying to do, some times in the very line of which you are speaking.⁹ I will also send some of the pamphlets of the Committee on Public Information, especially such as are historical in character—many of them prepared in these rooms. A letter from Hubert Hall speaks of the notion of using the American Historical Association room at 22 Russell Square as a reading-room for American soldiers, and says that an official letter from the committee on our London headquarters will come soon.¹⁰ I will await details, but am sure that our committee will regard the idea as a capital one and will try to make it known that there is such a place, especially by making it known to the officials of the American University Union in Paris, who have a large clubhouse for American university men in our forces. It seems that in a letter to Hall, you spoke of the room at 22 Russell Square as having no books or papers, but I feel sure that we sent over quite a lot at the beginning—rather such things as sets of the *Annual Reports* of the American Historical Association and of the *American Historical Review* and the like than books for intelligent convalescents—but a prudent secretary may have put them away because not used in wartime. I will send an inquiry about this to Mr. Newton and will try to have something done, if our Executive Council, as I anticipate, votes favorably on the matter at its meeting of December 26.

Please present my very kind regards to Lady Bryce, and believe me,

Very truly yours,

3, BUCKINGHAM GATE, S.W.
18th. Jan. 1918.

DEAR PROFESSOR JAMESON

Thank you for yours of Dec. 19th. I am afraid to begin answering it, because it raises so many questions that I might run into a long essay! It is fortunate that there are some intelligent students of political science watching the phenomena of revolution in Russia, for the spectacle is even more instructive than was that which France showed from 1789 to 1799. How Aristotle would have enjoyed watching it! One of the most interesting points would be to disengage the respective results of the idealism of a very few persons, the predatory fanaticism of a somewhat larger number, the scoundrelly selfishness of a still bigger section, and the ignorant simplicity, qualified also by selfishness, of the vast mass of peasants, and of those town workers, who are practically peasants by origin, and in their limited intelligence. At a later stage it will also be curious to see whether any real attempt to establish a socialist organisation will be made. I doubt it, thinking it more probable that some reaction towards a strong government will arrive before socialism has had a chance of putting its theories into practice. After all, one must not be disappointed, even what we see now may produce better efforts than

⁹ The *History Teacher's Magazine*, later the *Historical Outlook*, printed during the war many articles and studies prepared under the auspices of the National Board for Historical Service.

¹⁰ The London headquarters of the American Historical Association were formally opened at 8 Southampton St., June 15, 1914. Later a room was rented from the Royal Historical Society. With the establishment of the American University Union the purposes of the headquarters were attained in another way, and the rooms were closed early in 1920. Bryce acted as chairman of the London branch.

the autocracy was doing, but, if instead of the last two Czars, Russia could have had a succession of capable tyrants, who would have developed the country, materially and intellectually, the change to a new order might have come in a far better way. If Louis XVI could have been a tyrant of the Napoleonic type, how much smoother might the course of France have been down to 1870. Your parallel with the despondency that might have been felt in France towards the end of the fifteenth century, is very suggestive. Stubbs has a remark somewhere about the change for the better that took place after the reign of Edward III, which nobody could have predicted. Reflections on the course of South American history have made me think that changes, which are superficially only economic, such as those the Argentine has seen during the last forty years, may do much to bring about political, and even, perhaps, moral improvement. Is it a paradox to say that in politics fraud is better than force? That was the line of republican development in Spanish America.

Your suggestions regarding the causes of American preference for France are illuminating, but one of them seems to me doubtful. Surely it is not among the Americans who travel and find the English frigid and supercilious that the hostility to England seems to have been strongest, but rather among the mass who do not travel, and who get their impressions partly from school books, partly from newspapers, partly from Irish denunciations of "British tyranny." The Americans who travel, except a few of the fashionable scum that used to love Paris, seem, as a rule, to prefer the English to the French, and London to Paris. You are doubtless right in attributing a great deal to the constantly dropping rain of Irish anti-British sentiment, not only on your politicians, but on your people through the Press. For her conduct towards Ireland England, no doubt, deserved to suffer, but the change which has come over the English since 1886, when Mr. Gladstone gave a new direction to English policy, has never been properly appreciated in America. He was vilified for it here, as he was condemned for the Alabama arbitration, but these were two of the greatest services he rendered to the world.

I am very glad that you approve of Hubert Hall's idea of using the room at 22, Russell Square as a Reading Room for American soldiers. I will ask him about the books and papers you mention. We might make a still better preparation for American soldiers in England, if you think there are likely to be enough of them to make it worth while to set up a Club similar to the American Officers Club, recently established in Chesterfield Gardens by the Pilgrims.

One question more. We are struck here by the way in which a wave of democracy is sweeping round the whole world! A franchise & Redistribution Bill of a revolutionary kind has just been passed, including Woman Suffrage. Some few of us resisted it in vain in the House of Lords. Its passing is due to a sentimental faith in abstract principles & in Democracy. Congress also is passing an Amendment for Woman Suffrage. What is the explanation of this headlong rush? Women have no appreciable grievances of a practical kind here. Still less in U. S. A. Your explanation would be highly valued by me, who have been reflecting on these matters in connection with a book I am writing.

Very sincerely yours
JAMES BRYCE

February 6, 1918.

MY DEAR LORD BRYCE:

Your interesting letter of January 18 has just arrived and though I do not think that I can say anything very useful about the present state of the move-

ment here for woman suffrage, I hasten to reply upon the ground that apparently anything sent to you respecting it should go soon.

I cannot profess to know very well what motives actuate those who are now pressing forward hopefully the proposal for a constitutional amendment, for I know none of them, nor any persons who are intimately acquainted with their thoughts. I think it is probable that a part of the impulse comes from the general spirit working in the world at large toward more complete democracy; yet I think the main reasons for the present action and for the degree of success which has attended it, are to be found elsewhere, under circumstances more concrete. It is possible that a small amount of favorable effect on public opinion, may have come from the (to me) rather silly performances of those women who picketed the White House last winter, or perhaps rather from the action finally taken by the long-suffering police administration in arresting and imprisoning some of them. Such would be the claim of their particular wing of the suffrage agitators, but I doubt if there is much in it. Theirs is distinctly a minority wing, and the majority of the woman suffragists repudiate them rather strongly. Their sufferings, though very gratifying to themselves, did not seem to affect deeply more than a small part of the women or of the voters. Most persons regarded it as petty nagging of the President, unworthy in such trying times as these, yet not deserving of very severe punishment; but were not much discontented that they should be punished to the extent they were.

The main reason is to be looked for in the (to most persons) unexpected success of the vote in New York;¹¹ for I think it would have been regarded as certain that if they got a favorable vote there, added to the progress already made in previous years in a number of lesser states, they would push for a constitutional amendment. Hasty people always want that, because it seems a much shorter cut toward getting what you want than waiting for the slow operation of reform in one state after another; and reformers don't mind forcing a reform upon states that do not want it. A large part of the impulse toward such action came no doubt from the success, only a little while ago, of the vote in congress on the Constitutional Amendment enforcing prohibition. What with the passage of the sixteenth and seventeenth Amendments in 1913, and the rapid success, so far as Congress is concerned, of the prohibitory amendment last year, the national state of mind respecting constitutional amendments is very different from what it was before that time, when in one hundred years only three such proposals had succeeded. They are now regarded with a hopefulness which seemed impossible when the *American Commonwealth* was published. As soon as New York was carried, the agitators instantly began to press this amendment upon Congress. It went through the House very well, but I doubt if it gets through the Senate.¹²

I don't mean to lay all the emphasis on tactics, though these ladies are eager tacticians, and have much more of an eye toward tactical machinations than toward larger interests. I have no doubt that a good deal of the motive power has come from more spiritual sources,—from the general spirit of the world, and from the feeling in the minds of many men that the devotedly patriotic work in which such multitudes of American women have immersed themselves, deserves recognition, and also indicates a larger degree of interest in public affairs than American women used to manifest. Very likely these were the main reasons for the large affirmative vote in New York, though it is said that much is also to be attributed

¹¹ The previous year New York conferred full suffrage in state affairs.

¹² It was in June, 1919, that Congress agreed to submit the amendment to the legislatures.

rather to the vigorous campaign which the Socialists of New York made and in which socialism, opposition to the President's policies, and woman suffrage were mingled in ways difficult to distinguish.

Also, while there was a time, last spring, when it appeared to many men that the women of the country were to a dangerous extent opposed to all positive action that might bring on war, most men are convinced that the women of the country are much less pacifistic than had been supposed, and are supporting spirited measures very well on the whole.

Again, in process of years, men have become better satisfied as to the workings of woman suffrage in the states where it has been in operation. I remember that once when talking of the matter in the course of one of those walks which were of so great a pleasure to me, we agreed that it seemed impossible to get trustworthy evidence as to how the thing was working in the states where it had been secured; but that must have been about 1909, and Colorado seemed to be the only significant example. There are more now, and many men who felt as we did at that time have since become convinced, as indeed I have myself, that it is succeeding not badly, with many defects born of inexperience and with a good deal of indifference to the cost of improvements, yet with much education of the women to counterbalance all that. Those who looked to the advent of a woman in Congress as likely to furnish a demonstration of the capacity of the sex for good political action in the national arena, must have been a good deal disappointed, for Miss Rankin has proved to be a quite ordinary congressman, with no abilities above the average, and made rather a sorry exhibition of weakness and emotionalism at the time of the declaration of war.¹³ But I think that most women who favor woman suffrage desire it chiefly as a means of carrying through measures of social reform, and these they will for the most part seek to obtain through the state legislatures rather than through Congress.

I don't expect to see the Constitutional Amendment adopted within the next five or perhaps ten years—there are too many southern states for that—but I expect to see it gradually prevail, state by state, through a number of additional commonwealths.¹⁴

I rather hesitate to send you these small observations. They seem pretty obvious, and are derived from not much more than the newspapers. I will give them the one merit of being promptly sent, by writing them on the day of receipt of your letter.

You take very kindly my remarks about our national preference for the French rather than the English. I might have made it clearer that I equally thought our people to prefer the French to every other nation. Indeed, as one looks around over this uncomfortable world, one doubts sometimes whether any nation really has much liking for any other nation except that everybody seems to like the French. But I quite agree that we in America ought to do a great deal more to show our less educated and thoughtful citizens how great a change has come over the public action of Great Britain since the power passed from the hands of a ruling class into that of a democracy. I am just in these days engaged in preparing a syllabus for use by lecturers who go about in our various camps and cantonments talking to thousands of boys, in simple fashion, on the origin and background of the war, and what it is all about, and I have been putting it very strongly to the

¹³ Miss Jeanette Rankin represented Montana at large in the 65th Congress, 1917–19.

¹⁴ The 19th amendment passed in time for women to vote in the presidential election of 1920.

lecturers that they must emphasize these particular results of British democracy, as well as to dwell on the British Empire as our ally more than on England alone.¹⁵

With kindest regards,

Very truly yours,

3, BUCKINGHAM GATE, S.W.
1st. March 1918.

DEAR PROFESSOR JAMESON

Thank you very much for your instructive answer in yours of Feb. 6th. to my questions. Those answers suggest a further question, which has been occupying my mind for the last few years, and whereon I have not yet found a complete answer. What is the cause of the marked recrudescence of theoretical democracy, and the general faith in what we call the people, their wisdom and their will, all over the world, except, perhaps, in Germany and Japan? There have been comparatively few grievances to overcome, there has been no demonstration of the superiority of Democratic government to other kinds of government, in fact, some of the characteristic weaknesses of democracy have been more and more revealing themselves, in France for instance, and now in Russia on a wide and hideous scale, if, indeed, you can say that there is any government at all in Russia. Nevertheless, this ardent faith in democracy seems to go on growing. One can perfectly well understand the events in France from 1780 onwards. One can explain the rising in Russia against the autocracy; one can explain 1848 and 1849, but why this movement of opinion so general and so unreflecting which began near the end of the nineteenth century? I have a crude theory, but will not mention it pending the receipt of your own reflections whenever you have time to send them to me.

The disposition to change the United States Constitution in a prompt, light-hearted way is disquieting. To me, who am perhaps old-fashioned in my respect for the founders of your Constitution, it is a disparagement of State rights, and the tendency to make your government more and more unitary. As respects the French I cannot quite agree with your view that everybody likes the French, at any rate as a nation. The individual Frenchman has, as a rule, better manners and brighter, quicker mind and more responsiveness in conversation to people of other nations than the English or Germans, or Spaniards, but no more than Russians, or Swedes, or Norwegians, and perhaps not quite so much as the Italians; but the French as a nation or government are, and always have been, extremely difficult to deal with. They are vain, suspicious, jealous, and no more trustworthy than other nations are in diplomacy, at least such is the impression that one derives from the secret diplomatic history of the last sixty years, no less than from the open history of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. I am not blind to the faults of our own international policy and diplomacy, but they are different faults. However, this subject is too long a one to enter into, though one would like to write an essay upon it explaining that for the last seventy years or more there have really been *two* Englands alternatively directing our policy, and making it appear wavering and unreliable, because it has been animated by two antagonistic principles, sometimes one and sometimes the other of which have come to the top, and have so succeeded for a space in directing national action in international

¹⁵ These illustrated lectures were prepared and arranged by the National Board for Historical Service under the auspices of the War Department Commission for Training Camp Activities. They were given in the Y.M.C.A. and Knights of Columbus buildings in some thirteen of the larger camps.

affairs. This is why we have been called Pharisees & have often inspired distrust. It has been a see-saw between philanthropists & Jingoese, & outsiders have taken the philanthropists for hypocrites and the Jingoese for unstable braggarts.

If you are still editing the *American Historical Review*, wd. you like an article reviewing the *Life of Disraeli*, when the last two volumes appear, & giving a summing up and general view of his action especially in the field of foreign policy? I could not write such an article at once, but might hope to do so some months hence, if by then I have nearly finished my book on *Modern Democracy*.¹⁶

Yours very sincerely

JAMES BRYCE

If you have any American historians coming over here.—I know some of the younger are coming as officers or “War Spell-Binders” I shall be happy to see any such, and our historians would give them a Reception.

April 19, 1918.

DEAR LORD BRYCE;

It is understood that on the tenth of May the sole honorary member of the American Historical Association reaches his eightieth birthday. The Executive Council of the Association cannot be willing that the occasion should pass without the expression of their heartiest congratulations and their sincerest good wishes. We feel sure that all the twenty-seven hundred members of the society, if it were possible to consult them, would earnestly desire that such a message should be sent, and would cordially authorize the action which we take in their name.

When we think of the varied experiences and achievements of these many years, and of the widespread consideration and regard which they have brought, we cannot but be reminded of Tennyson's *Ulysses*:

Much have I seen and known: cities of men
And manners, climates, councils, governments,
Myself not least, but honor'd of them all.

We sincerely hope that your bodily strength continues, and may long continue, unimpaired. We see with great pleasure, from writings that reach us from time to time, that our honorary member and our friend retains his mental vigor and alertness undiminished,

And this gray spirit yearning in desire
To follow knowledge like a sinking star
Beyond the utmost bound of human thought.

Most of all we rejoice that at eighty your spirit is still so young, your mind so open, as to find its keenest interest in those great problems of reconstruction to which the shaken world must address itself after the present storms—that for you, as for the poet's *Ulysses*,

'Tis not too late to seek a newer world.

Thirty years ago, in *The American Commonwealth*, you laid permanent foundations for mutual understanding and good will between Great Britain and the United States. Throughout the intervening years, whether as ambassador in

¹⁶ This article, “The *Life of Disraeli*, V., VI.,” reviewing George E. Buckle's continuation of W. F. Monypenny's *Life*, was printed in the *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXVI (July, 1921), 672-82.

Washington or in whatever other high employment, you have labored untiringly for the same great ends. No one in our generation has done more to promote them. History, we are sure, will not forget your services to this great cause, nor to the still greater task of establishing somehow a commonwealth of nations. We hope and believe that, even in these dark days, your eightieth birthday may be made happy by the remembrance of activities so interesting, so momentous, and so beneficent.

We have the honor to be, with the highest regard and with warm personal friendship,¹⁷

Very sincerely yours,

May 11/18

Hindleap, Forest Row, Sussex.

DEAR PROFESSOR JAMESON

Thank you for your letter. I shall hope to reply to your remarks on the Demokratischer Umschwung more fully presently: meantime this goes to tell you that the British Academy Council has just elected you a Corresponding Fellow. The election has to be confirmed at a general meeting in July (though that is always given) it is until then confidential, & for yourself only. It is the only honour of the kind we have to bestow from this country. H. C. Lea, Wm. James & Royce were Fellows: Root, Eliot, Lowell & Hadley now are.

You are doubtless right in thinking that the reaction again[st] Mark Hanna & Big Business in politics did induce a desire for more direct popular control, but it seems to me not so clear that the interest of the average citizen in politics is really greater than it was in 1880 or perhaps even in 1860. I have seen McLaughlin¹⁸—& like him; he is doing excellently: but I have had no time for quiet talk with him. In haste

Very sincerely yours

JAMES BRYCE

NORTH EDGEComb, MAINE.

August 21, 1918.

MY DEAR LORD BRYCE:

With your kind letter of July 10 came an official communication from Professor Gollancz, as secretary of the British Academy, notifying me of the great honor which the Academy has been so good as to confer upon me. I have written to him, and wish also to express my hearty thanks to you for your part in the election and for the generous terms in which you are pleased to speak of it. It will give me the greatest possible pleasure if at any time I can do anything at Wash-

¹⁷ This testimonial was drafted by Dr. Jameson and signed by such officers of the Association and members of the Council as could be reached within the few days which could be allowed to insure its delivery by May 10. The letter was engrossed at the Department of State and the signatures facsimiled. Replying, May 23, Bryce wrote: "It is now sixty years since as an undergraduate at Oxford I began the study of history; and every year makes me feel more strongly how much historical knowledge, if rightly used, deepens and widens our conceptions of what each of us may do for his country, and what each of our countries, twin trees growing from one ancient root, may accomplish for the world. History, no less than Philosophy, is the guide of life, national as well as private."

¹⁸ Under arrangements made by the National Board for Historical Service, Professor McLaughlin gave twenty-eight lectures in England, Scotland, and Ireland on general phases of Anglo-American relations, especially in connection with the war. These lectures were printed under the title, *America and Britain* (New York, 1919).

ington or elsewhere in America to further the interests of the British Academy.

I do most sincerely hope that from now on, intellectual relations between Great Britain and the United States will be made closer and more fruitful of good to both nations. I do not know just what means of bringing this about will prove the most helpful, but I should be glad to assist in any of them. I see that Columbia University is planning some rather extensive use of an invitation to British professors to lecture in New York. Such exchanges can easily be made of far greater importance than those exchanges between Prussian and American universities which were so much advertised, but which really proved to be of so little actual use. It is a comforting thing, by the way, that they did so little harm. An emissary of the Kaiser, in the autumn of 1914, went the rounds of the former exchange professors in this country, with a view to keeping them in line for the German cause,—making it evident that propaganda for the indisputably greatest of all monarchs, nations, and civilizations had been thought a main reason for the whole machinery. A few of these exchange professors showed themselves to have been influenced, by having, in the American phrase, eaten out of the Kaiser's hand, but not most of them. At all events, exchange with Great Britain, and with France, if desired and practicable, would have a far greater amount of beneficial influence and would attain it much more easily and with less need of proclamation and insistence, the natural affinity of democratic minds being so much more complete.

Professor McLaughlin, whose tour of lecturing in Great Britain seems to have succeeded far beyond his modest expectations, and to have accomplished real good, says that many persons in British universities indicated to him a hope that after the war the tide of American graduate students might be deflected from Germany to British shores. A very reasonable desire, but I doubt if they appreciate to what small dimensions that tide has shrunk. I remember that in the first talk I ever had with you, at Baltimore in 1883, when you were so good as to advise me about my plans, my thought was all of further study in Germany. That was then the normal course; but now, with the great improvement which in thirty-five years has been effected in the methods of training graduate students in America, and with the great resources which are expended upon that process, it is a distinctly unusual thing for any young man to go to Germany to pursue studies, of those sorts, at any rate, with which I am most familiar. The general conviction is that, even if the young man has resources which make it easy, it is better for him to spend at least the first two years of graduate work in American universities, before going either to Germany or (preferably nowadays) to France. I dare say that the same might be thought to be true of the British universities, in view of the great differences of system between them and those institutions in America in which these young men are taught and are subsequently to teach; but there can be no doubt that are [our] American graduate students need wider contact with European educational institutions and systems, and doubtless appropriate means of export and import would in time be devised.

In the hope that the modest headquarters secured in London by the American Historical Association in the building of the Royal Historical Society may be extensively resorted to by American students of history after the war, and may somehow be made an important means of furthering intellectual contact between them and British scholars, I have been trying to get some rich American who is able to see the value which such intercourse may have for the two nations, to endow the headquarters, but have not yet succeeded.

Our National Board for Historical Service had great pleasure this spring in helping to forward one kind of exchange between America and one of the British nations, namely, in making arrangements whereby Professor Wrong, of Toronto, could set forth the Canadian viewpoint, or the real constitution of the British Empire, or the relations between Canadian and American federation and between the two nations, to the audiences provided by the summer sessions of our great universities. These, of course, would bring together a wider variety of teachers, from a wider variety of places, than it is possible to assemble at any place in the winter, and I am sure that his lectures had a great and useful effect.

The beauty of the Maine scenery is familiar to you. I think the scene which lies before me, at the "office" of this department of the Carnegie Institution, is almost as beautiful as anything at Mt. Desert. I remain here until September 10. Then I spend a week at Branford, Connecticut, in a quiet hotel in a beautiful place on Long Island Sound where the professors who dwell in New England or the eastern part of the middle states, or are spending the summer there, are establishing the habit of meeting for a week in September. A "retreat" for historians, we somewhat irreverently called it last year, but I think I have now devised a better title for it, and we call it the *convivium historicum*, after the analogy of the *convivium theologicum*, which Lord Falkland used to have at Great Tew. I started the practice last year. Fifteen men came, and the week was well enjoyed—no "exercises", no business, very little "shop" talk even, but a week of vacation spent in conversation and mild sports and the increasing of mutual acquaintance. This year will not be so untroubled by business, for the National Board for Historical Service and the Board of Editors of the *American Historical Review* have both taken the occasion to appoint a meeting at Branford in those days; but such is war time. I hope the gathering will become a regular, and ordinarily rather lazy, feature of our Septembers, for the American historical folk are a very good sort, who get on very well together, especially at so beautiful and agreeable a place.¹⁹

There has been some talk about giving up the usual December meeting of the American Historical Association, some thinking that needless travel should be avoided and that the money might be better spent on the Red Cross, and the like. I believe, however, that it is intended to hold a meeting.²⁰ The problem is the old one of the alabaster box of precious ointment. I do not know how it should be solved, but I have rather the feeling that, if the right sort of programme is undertaken, it may be worth a good deal to the country to have so many teachers of history inspired and encouraged by knowing each others thoughts as to the way in which their own work stands related to the present crisis. I am sure that the meeting in Philadelphia last December had good results of just that sort.

I suppose that the final Disraeli volumes will soon appear. I keep in mind with much pleasure and gratitude the thought of what you have proposed in that connection.

Believe me to be, with kindest regards and best wishes to yourself and Lady Bryce,

Very truly yours,

¹⁹ These gatherings were sponsored by Dr. Jameson until his death; they were continued by Professor F. M. Anderson of Dartmouth until the outbreak of the present war.

²⁰ The 34th annual meeting, which was to have taken place at Cleveland, December 27 and 28, was not held because of the influenza epidemic. The business of the Association was transacted at a meeting of the Executive Council which was held in New York, January 31 and February 1, 1919. *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXIV (Apr., 1919), 349-57.

3, BUCKINGHAM GATE, S.W.
20th. Sept. 1918.

MY DEAR PROFESSOR JAMESON

Best thanks for your interesting letter of July [August] 21st. It raised several questions of moment which I should like to be able to discuss more at length. Meantime, let me say:—

(1) Nothing would do more good than an exchange of lectures between American and British Professors. I will talk to some of our people about it, and if you have practical suggestions to make as to the kind of times of the year at which they should be given, I should bring them to the notice of University friends here. Our Professors are pretty poorly paid and it would be helpful if some more popular lectures—I mean to popular audiences—could be simultaneously arranged on a scale not so large as to involve fatigue,—by which lecture fees they could pay at least the expenses of their journeys to and fro. There ought to be no difficulty in arranging for leave of absence on both sides.

(2) We have been thinking much over the steps to be taken to facilitate the coming for post-graduate courses to this country of American students. What you say is true. Your post graduate courses are now so good that there is not the same inducement as there would have been thirty years ago. Still, there are many cases in which American students might wish to hear specially eminent British Professors, and the volume of your University graduates is so enormous compared with ours, that even a small per centage would count for much. History is, perhaps, one of the topics in which, good as your courses are, some things could be learned better here than in America. Beyond and above the teaching, however, it would do most American students a vast deal of good to become familiar with European intellectual and moral conditions. Similarly, British students, especially of economics, and social questions, would profit greatly by visiting the U. S., where not only the teaching, but observation of the phenomena would enlarge their minds and deepen their views. The matter wants working out on this side also. Dr. Osler had a plan for treating medical studies in a similar way, but I do not know what has come of it.

I am very glad to hear that Wrong's lectures were so successful. It was an excellent idea, and will have a good retroactive effect on Canadian Universities. They are looking up, but their personnel is not yet as strong as it should be.

You are quite right to hold your usual meeting of the Historical Association. Even the bringing together of the men is valuable. How much I wish we could have had, and could have even now, gatherings of British Historical Teachers similar to that you are now having at Branford. Nothing of the kind has ever been attempted here. We are curiously unorganised and unassociated, and in a way, individualistic. Everyone wants to spend his holiday in his own way at the place he chooses, but such gatherings, bringing the researchers and teachers into actual contact, are inestimably useful.

Do not forget that whenever you have a communication that you would like to make to our people on some Historical topic, the British Academy will be glad to receive it. We have not worked that side of our functions so far, but it ought to be worked, and all the more because Germany and Austria will be out of all intellectual communion with us and with you for some time to come. I am

Always sincerely yours

JAMES BRYCE

3, BUCKINGHAM GATE, S.W.
4th. July 1919.

MY DEAR PROFESSOR JAMESON

I am very glad to hear from you again, and to be informed of the large and interesting project which you propose to carry out.²¹ The British Government has been very tiresome heretofore in allowing its archives to be used. Within the last thirty years they actually declined to show papers relating to the earlier stages of the Revolutionary War. Now, however, I hope a more liberal spirit will prevail and I see no reason why anything should be concealed antecedent to the year 1860. I will, of course, gladly enquire their views if you like to send me a full memorandum on the subject sometime later, but I think there would be no difficulty in your getting papers for publication for the period between 1815 and 1840, especially, of course, if your Government request them (the F. O.) to do so. It will be much more difficult to obtain the private correspondence of our Ministers here with their envoys in America, because this private correspondence is kept, when kept, by the Ministers and their executors or families, but, no doubt, a good many papers exist which will be shown to you. The collection could hardly be complete, but that is no reason why you should not print all you can get. I think you might certainly get the Bagot papers and Vaughan also, and the Jackson papers. You might write to Lord Cork for the Canning papers, and to Lord Londonderry for those of Castlereagh. I will with pleasure back you up if necessary.

I think such a paper as you suggest on Bagot's ministry would be very interesting, and I have no doubt the British Academy would find an opportunity for you to read it to them.²² I have long wished that our Corresponding Members would make communications to us, and this would make an excellent beginning.

So much for your project which all students of history in this country will welcome.

You are at a very interesting and, indeed, decisive moment in your own history. While fully appreciating the advantages to the U. S. of retaining your freedom and detachment as far as possible, many of us here feel that without your concurrence and cooperation the League of Nations will come to nothing, and we are, therefore, most anxious to see you enter. Is it true that domestic politics are playing a great part in the present opposition, particularly in the Senate? Any observations you can give me regarding the political situation will be very interesting. You are one of the few who can regard all these matters with the impartial detachment appropriate to a historian.

Always truly yours
JAMES BRYCE

²¹ June 12, Dr. Jameson had written at length concerning his project of collecting and publishing for the Carnegie Institution the correspondence of the early British ministers in the United States. The undertaking was not continued after Jameson's retirement from the Institution. Some of his material was published as Volume III of the *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association for 1936: *Instructions to the British Ministers to the United States, 1791-1812*, edited by Bernard Mayo. All copies of the letters which had been gathered, with Dr. Jameson's notes, have been deposited in the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress.

²² Jameson had written, "What with the beginning of 105 years of peace, and the Bagot-Rush convention and the disarmament on the lakes, that might be an agreeable subject on which to read a paper, and the reading of which might bring grist to my mill from unexpected quarters." For the reason stated in Jameson's letter of March 30, 1921 (see below, p. 294, the paper was not read.

NORTH EDGECOMB, MAINE,
August 8, 1919.

MY DEAR LORD BRYCE:

It was pleasant to learn, from your letter of July 4, that you approved of my project with respect to the Correspondence of the British Ministers in Washington, and that you thought it practicable to carry it out. Meantime I have received data as to quantities which show me that, though the amount of material involved is large, it is not beyond what may be within the means of the Carnegie Institution. So I propose to go forward with the plan. I thank you for your very kind offers of help. In respect to the papers now in private hands, most of my effort had better be deferred, I think, until I come to England next spring. Even in cases like that of the Vaughan Papers, belonging to All Souls College, I think I should postpone application until I have learned whether permission will be granted in the case of the Foreign Office Papers at the Public Record Office. The first step will be to apply for permission to use them.

Accordingly I am doing that now, and accept at once, and with much gratitude, your offer of assistance. I have thought that perhaps the best method might be to lay the matter before Mr. Balfour in a letter, and to ask you if you would be so good as to forward it to him with such words of explanation and recommendation as you may feel disposed to send.²³ I inclose herewith a letter intended for this purpose, but if you think it best not to use it, or have suggestions of amendment by which it might be made more likely to succeed, please leave it at one side or write me wherein it should be altered. If you are willing to act thus as intermediary, I shall be very greatly obliged.

It is difficult to know what one can say, with any security, in answer to your inquiry about the prospects of the League of Nations and the Treaty. As you say, I am in the position of a neutral observer so far as party action is concerned. But up here I have no information beyond what is in the newspapers, and within the last few days the whole question has been overshadowed by the prodigious cloud that has suddenly arisen, in the form of far-reaching demands on the part of the railroad men and other officials of the labor organizations. Their insistence upon the nationalization of the railways, with hints toward the nationalization of other great industries, are so portentous that, for instance, the *New York Times*, which for a long time has had much matter regarding the League of Nations and the Treaty on its first page, in yesterday's issue had nothing on the subject until page 15, except a bit about Shantung, and on page 15 had little but the record of Mr. Lansing's testimony before the Senate committee. It seems likely that almost the whole attention of Congress and the administration must for a time be concentrated on problems of domestic economics, such as that of reducing the costs of living or otherwise somehow contenting the railroad brotherhoods or succumbing to their demands. What effect this will have on the treaty, I do not know, but I should think it was more likely to cause the Senate to acquiesce soon, after some fashion, than to cause it to push the matter aside, and increase a delay which I believe has not been pleasing to the country. My belief is that the Senate has been moving slowly and reluctantly toward abandonment of the high-and-mighty position of selfish nationalism which it took at first—moving thus, not by reason of leadership, I will say, which seems to have been strikingly absent from the Republican majority, but by reason of the pressure of public opinion.

You ask if it is true that domestic politics are playing a great part in the

²³ Balfour, Foreign Secretary, advised Bryce, October 18, that there would be no difficulty "in meeting Professor Jameson's views."

present opposition in the Senate. I regret to say that it looks to me as if partizan considerations had played the main part in the action of a good many Republican Senators. I do not know more than a few of the Senators, and ought to hesitate to form judgments about their motives, but I can certainly say that, *if* the majority of the Republican Senators were actuated by party considerations, together with personal hostility to the President, they would act just about as they have been acting. If they had been considering the League of Nations solely on its merits, it does not seem possible that they would have been, as at the beginning they were, unanimously against out and out acceptance of the covenant. Divergences are now beginning to manifest themselves. In general, there has been, during these last three months, that process on their part which I expected to see, of moving around from an intransigent position loudly proclaimed to one of much less pronounced opposition, varying all the way from that of a few last-ditch Senators to that of the seven "mild reservationists"; but even those seven have not yet been able to agree upon a formula on which they hope to reconcile the constitutional number of the Senators. I expect to see the treaty ultimately ratified, but in some disappointing fashion.

I suppose that the Senators have shared in the letting-down process through which the whole world seems to have been going. In the height of warfare we could rise to an exceptionally high level of patriotic and humanitarian feeling and of devotion to wide interests. After the great incentive has been removed, the nations seem to have relaxed into a mood that brings out selfishness and ill temper and a disposition to quarrel over the spoils. Certainly in this country we have been brought into a quite unhappy state, of dissension and discontent, of partizan bitterness against the President and the administration, of wrangling and heat in Congress, and of indisposition to take up in a patriotic and non-partizan spirit the great tasks of readjustment. In other words, while it might be disrespectful to say that the Senate presented a "case of nerves", it would be no more than what one might say of most of the rest of us, and, I should think, of some other countries.

I suppose these Senators hear first from the small local politicians, who, like themselves, have so long been occupied with thinking about national concerns that they greatly under-represent the sentiments of internationalism that prevail among quieter people. (Rightly or wrongly, I formed the notion that the prodigious welcome accorded to President Wilson when he first came to Europe was simply an ebullition of popular feeling in favor of a more internationalized world-order, evoked by a symbol of disinterested idealism, and rather surprising to statesmen and politicians, who, in Europe as in America, have had it as their main business to look out for *national* interests.) Next, the Senators would naturally hear from manufacturers and other business men who were in some cases beginning to be uneasy over the long suspension of trade relations by delays in ratifying the treaty. Last of all, they would hear from, or discover the feelings of, the classes that are less in the habit of writing to their politicians, but after all possess votes. I have always been convinced that nearly all the women, nearly all the church members, and most of the young men between twenty-one and thirty, including the returned soldiers, were so strongly desirous of a league of nations that they were quite ready to approve of the covenant as framed. All these classes care relatively little about the tariff and the dear old Monroe Doctrine and a lot of other things that politicians who are accustomed to think, or at any rate to talk, in national terms, regard as the Ark of the Covenant.

So time has worked in favor of ratification. But whether these great economic

perplexities which Congress ought to have been considering all this while, but which are now precipitated upon them, will work in the same direction, is less certain. Very likely you will know by the time this letter reaches you. That is what I always feel with respect to my simple vaticinations.

Perhaps I might well be more specific on individual points than I have been, above. Though I believe that most of our voters wish the treaty to be signed and the United States to enter the League of Nations on the present covenant, even without amendments, this does not imply complete satisfaction with the document, but rather a feeling that acceptance is much the best course, in spite of some objectionable features. The arrangement about Shantung meets with almost universal, and usually very warm, disapproval.²⁴ In many minds this springs in part from the rooted distrust of Japan, which is nearly universal among us, for most people think of her as a rapacious and unscrupulous power, with notions of policy quite as imperialistic as those with which Germany began the war. It is believed that there is nothing essentially abhorrent to the Japanese mind in the whole Prussian programme, and that her course in the war has been purely selfish. Her conduct toward China, with the twenty-one demands, etc., has been deeply resented. I do not believe, however, that the general hostility to the Shantung arrangements rests so much on resentment of Japanese aggressiveness, in the minds of peoples east of the Rockies at any rate, as on a humane feeling with respect to China and a belief that it is shocking, when the United States has been disposed to pride itself on exceptionally good conduct toward China, to consent to put millions of her people under the control of Japan at the very moment when the principles of liberty and self-determination are being so loudly proclaimed. Mr. Lansing's testimony before the Senate committee will cause many to believe that it was needless for the United States to succumb; and the pronouncements from Tokyo have not helped matters, for we have not seen in them any frank or convincing declaration of righteous intentions toward China.

With respect to other proposed amendments or reservations, the reluctance of the average man rests largely, of course, on his imperfect appreciation of the relations of America to the rest of the world, and of the fact, though it was plain enough in advance, that any better arrangement for the peace of the world would require some sacrifices of national freedom of action. More might have been made, in the public prints, of the parallel of 1788, for many of our Republican speakers are talking much like anti-Federalists of that date; but history, even American history, has, in spite of all the efforts of our sacred profession, not yet become the favorite reading of American mankind. I think it is no harm to add that, though most Americans sincerely wish the United States to take a disinterested part in the negotiations, and the more intelligent of them must have seen that the victorious European states would have solid reasons for pressing for individual advantages in a way that we should not enter upon, still there is a good deal of feeling that Great Britain and other governments have done well for themselves in the treaty; the votes to New Zealand, South Africa, and the other dominions, and the guaranty of boundaries mostly British against external aggression, have been most commented upon, and in a less degree the size of the British share of the indemnity in comparison with, for instance, the Belgian.

But almost every treaty of peace has disappointed a great many people and this one would be acquiesced in with a pretty good grace by the American people if there were no party feelings. The President's appeal for support of the Demo-

²⁴ Under the treaty, Shantung was to be retained by Japan.

cratic candidates just before the last election was deeply resented, and his rigidity and self-will and indisposition to make any account of the opinions of other public men, Democrat or Republican, and his pointed slighting of the Senate on various occasions, have made difficulties for his treaty that need not have existed.

All this is too long for the amount of solid matter in it; I fear it would assay very little to the ton.

I am having a great deal of pleasure in the thought that in eight or nine months I shall see you and Lady Bryce again.

Very sincerely yours,

October 22, 1919.

MY DEAR LORD BRYCE:

Your letter of September 24 has just arrived. I thank you most sincerely for your kindness in sending me so kind and flattering a letter of introduction to Lord Grey. I shall be a little shame-faced in using a document which refers to me as [as] an eminent historian, for alas, I have never written a history. I have desired to, but the very nature and quantity of my occupations has prevented. In Sir Henry Wotton's phrase "I am but a gatherer and disposer of other men's stuff".

Upon one passage in the note, I may remark that my project does not include the correspondence of the American Ministers in London with the American Secretaries of State, for the correspondence of the British Ministers in Washington with their Foreign Secretaries and friends in England is enough of a task for the Carnegie Institution, and the State Department itself should attend to the other, by printing with fuller disclosure for the period to 1837, covered after a fashion by the old folio *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, and by printing amply for the period after 1837. However, an unexpected turn in the affairs of the Carnegie Institution makes it impossible for me to come to England in 1920 as I had hoped. The expedition must be postponed to 1921; but I shall go on with preparatory studies here, especially if I hear words of encouragement from Mr. Balfour.

You do not indicate whether you have thought it a wise plan to approach Mr. Balfour on my behalf, or whether in your judgment I had better proceed through the channels of our own State Department. Perhaps the latter is the more regular way for preferring a private request to a foreign government, but, to tell the truth, I have in recent years found it rather discouraging to try to do anything through our State Department. Mr. Lansing and Mr. Phillips, both of whom I have known for a good many years (Mr. Lansing was an Amherst man) are always very kind, but the thing seems not to get done. I think it is that our Ministers are not interested in such things, though our Consuls have uniformly been helpful in all our various foreign endeavors.

I cannot answer without chagrin your questions respecting the Senate, except that, to your last question, I believe I can reply that their conduct with respect to Ireland, and especially the almost unanimous resolution to which you allude, has been very ill regarded by most thoughtful people.²⁵ One is apt to make too much of some small section of opinion with which a private person, who does not range

²⁵ Bryce had written, "We are shocked, many of us, at the recent action of the Senate Committee in having Hindus and Egyptians to set forth their grievances, such as they think them, against Britain—but we hold our peace, lest we should do harm. The Resolution of Sympathy with Irish independence was a singular piece of discourtesy, to say the least. Was it disapproved by thoughtful people in America?"

about very much, finds himself immediately in contact; but I think all the people with whom I have spoken of the matter have regarded that resolution as a discreditable piece of small politics, or, if sincere on the part of some plainly insincere on the part of many. For instance, I know perfectly well that Senator Lodge hates and despises the Irish, though he has always cultivated them publicly. Generally speaking, most of these conspicuous efforts to give a sympathetic hearing to the enemies of the British government are hollow—mere methods in the political game. They are not altogether so. I judge that many Englishmen, who have not your knowledge of the actual composition of our population, are not aware that at least half of their “transatlantic cousins” are not cousins at all, not of English descent, and so over estimate the amount of good will toward the British government which is to be expected, and which for instance has been constant in the indigenous New England population. A number of the Senators are perfectly sincere in their belief that the British government cannot be trusted to act unselfishly toward us or toward subject populations; but the element of playing to the galleries, wherein the Irish seem always to have front seats, is very strong with many. But as far back as 1783, Charles Biddle vice president of the council in Pennsylvania, declares that all through Western Pennsylvania persons who wish to succeed in politics speak with an Irish brogue even when it was no wise native to them.

The other day good old Senator Williams, who was the one dissident to the Senate resolution of which you speak, freed his mind in his pungent way on the subject of the noisiness of the Irish and the prevalent fear of them.²⁶ Since then he has been loudly denounced at various meetings, in resolutions sometimes incoherent but always emphatic, and the “historiographer” of the Irish American Historical Society has been led forward to pronounce *ex cathedra* that “investigation has shown” that thirty-eight per cent. of the soldiers under Washington were Irish.²⁷ (It is the function of these ethnic historical societies, as of party whips the morning after election, to “claim everything”.) I sometimes feel like the man who, on the plumber’s presenting his bill, asked him if he would not take the house for part payment.

But to return to the Senate, it is a sad subject, for not only has the conduct of most of the Republicans respecting the Treaty been discouragingly parvanimous, but the Democratic Senators have shown extraordinarily little debating power on behalf of the League and the Treaty. However, it is at any rate now certain that the Treaty will be ratified, as I always thought it would be, the majority of them coming around. I regret the ambiguous situation in which many things may be left by the reservations which will apparently be voted; but I think a good deal of credit belongs to a certain group of Republican Senators—McCumber, Colt and Hale, particularly—who have kept their heads and refused to be dragooned into a course of action that would sacrifice great ends for this nation and the world, for the sake of immediate party advantage over the President.

Pardon me; it interests me to write down what I think about politics, when you ask any questions, for I almost never do it otherwise, for I hardly know of any one else who wishes to know what I think about these things. I always feel like adding at the bottom, as the old accountants used to do, “E. E.”, for errors excepted.

Please express my very kind regards to Lady Bryce. It is one of the chief

²⁶ John Sharp Williams of Mississippi.

²⁷ Michael J. O'Brien, whose *Hidden Phase of American History* (New York, 1920) was reviewed by Jameson in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXVI (July, 1921), 797-99.

disappointments, from the decision that I cannot go to England in 1920, that it postpones a year the pleasure of seeing you and her again.

Very sincerely yours,

November 10, 1919.

MY DEAR LORD BRYCE:

I am greatly obliged by your letter of October 21 and by your kindness in securing so favorable a word from Mr. Balfour. His consent is very gratifying, and I shall hope and believe that, when I succeed in arriving in England, in 1921, it will not be difficult to obtain from his successor the favors he is so good as to indicate.

By means of the letter of introduction which you kindly provided, I had an interview the other day with Lord Grey. He was kindness itself, showed himself very sympathetic to my project in general, and offered of his own accord to write on my behalf, whenever I should find that the proper time had arrived, to two of the persons whom it would be most important for me to approach with requests as to correspondence of British ministers here—namely, the present Lord Londonderry, whom I presume to be the possessor of the Castlereagh papers, and the Warden of All Souls, in whose library are the papers of Sir Charles Vaughan (though, so far as these last are concerned, I imagine that you are still a Fellow of All Souls, or at any rate potent there). All these things are however, as I said in my last letter, postponed by a year; but I shall use the interval in acquiring much fuller knowledge of the history of that earlier diplomacy and of the details which I shall need to know.

I do not think that there is any definite precedent as to the course to be followed when a President of the United States is temporarily incapacitated. The longest period of such disability, so far as I can remember, was that of Garfield's illness, during which Vice President Arthur carefully refrained from taking any action, or any steps in that direction. Happily, however, since you wrote, it has become plain that the President is very far from being entirely incapacitated, and he may fairly be expected to resume work with vigor after a while. It seems to have been merely a nervous breakdown, serious indeed, but only requiring prolonged rest. In a few instances within these recent weeks he has taken action, and the documents which have been published as from his hand have shown no loss of vigor. It is plain that the process of recovery must be slow, but it seems fairly certain.

Nevertheless these are days of great anxiety. The situation with respect to the striking miners seems very critical to-day, and the drift of the Senate toward ratification, which I thought I saw, is in danger of being neutralized by a form of ratification with which no friend of the League of Nations can be satisfied. It seems impossible to predict how either matter will turn out. I feel sure that the course taken by the miners is disapproved by the majority of the people, and still think that the same is true of the course taken by the Senate in the matter of the Treaty, but what the result will be, no one seems to feel sure, beyond a general assurance, in the one case, that the majority of our working classes are still much more conservative than in other countries and, in the other case, that however the Senate may minimize our promises of action for the general good in international matters, yet to a great occasion the American people would respond with the same high enthusiasm and good will as in 1917, when I must say I was surprised at the fervor and unanimity of the response. It looks however as if, so far as any but

very great occasions are concerned, we are not yet mentally prepared to take much part in the doings of the world outside our own borders.

Yesterday was the Sunday nearest to the anniversary of the armistice. A young clergyman whom I heard preach, who had served as a chaplain in France during the war, (a son of Professor Macbride Sterrett, whom you perhaps knew),²⁸ upheld eloquently the ideals of 1917 and 1918, and urged us not to be let down from them, and it was plain that the congregation were with him in not wishing to abate the internationalism of those days; I believe he was also right in declaring, very broadly, that such would always be the spirit of the "boys" to whom he had administered in the trenches. They, and the church going people, and the women, will not forget why we went into the war although the politicians may.

Very sincerely yours,

February 7, 1920.

MY DEAR LORD BRYCE:

On receiving your letter of January 12 a few days ago I called up my friend Charles Henry Butler, who used to be reporter of the Supreme Court, and asked him about decisions affecting the "grandfather clause".²⁹ He said he felt sure that there had been nothing recent, nothing since the case against Montague when he was governor of Virginia, and that was in 1902-1906; but he said that he would send me a memorandum respecting the apposite cases. I have not yet received it (there has been much illness in town) and I go away this afternoon upon a ten days' journey, so I can only say, on this point, that I do not believe that anything has occurred which has seriously increased the negro vote in Virginia or elsewhere; but I will not wait for further information before answering your inquiry respecting a man that might be recommended for election as Corresponding Fellow of the British Academy. The name that occurs to me as most suitable for such a purpose, among the classes of which you speak (historians, jurists, economists, or philosophers) is that of Mr. Justice Holmes. You know him better than I do, and know all about him, so I will only add that I should not think any of our living historians or economists quite to rank with him intellectually.³⁰ Of philosophers I am incapable of judging, but I think I have not heard any living person spoken of in the way of which men used to speak of William James and Josiah Royce.

The meeting of the American Historical Association at Cleveland seemed to me exceptionally pleasant and successful. Of the political situation in Washington, I must not today, because of the impending journey, take the time to write anything, even if I could find anything useful to say, when the two parties seem to be merely consuming time in manoeuvring for position. The President seems to be still improving in health, but very slowly, and, as you will have seen, the con-

²⁸ The Rev. H. H. D. Sterrett, present pastor of All Souls Protestant Episcopal Memorial Church, Washington. His father was professor of philosophy in the George Washington University.

²⁹ Butler was an attorney of Washington who had been legal expert for the Anglo-American Canadian Commission of 1898, had reported the decisions of the U. S. Supreme Court, 1902-16; and edited vols. 187-242 of the *U. S. Reports*. In a letter of February 11, 1920, he cited *Guinn v. U. S.*, involving the clause in the constitution of Oklahoma, and *Myers v. Anderson*, pertaining to the clause in the Maryland constitution. In both cases the clauses were held to be in conflict with the 15th amendment (*Reports*, vol. 238, pp. 347, 368). Bryce had asked whether the cases declaring the clause unconstitutional "had the result of letting a great number of people get the suffrage, or are there other State enactments still sufficient to exclude most?"

³⁰ Holmes was at the time a member,

trol of discussions respecting the treaty has slipped from his hands. To me, as an old friend, his situation is tragic. It is perfectly true that a quite moderate degree of more conciliatory behavior toward the senators either before he went over to Paris or just after he came back would probably have won him enough votes to achieve what he desired, and so he has himself and his stubborn pride of intellect to blame. But he has [so] earnestly desired the best things that his want of success pains me beyond expression.

Among the matters of business on which I go away, one is to attend at New York on February 14 the first meeting of the American Council of Learned Societies devoted to the Humanistic Studies, which, chiefly at the instance of the American Historical Association, has lately been formed. Its constitution was framed at a conference held in September at Boston, and has now been ratified by nearly all of the thirteen societies involved. The arrangement is a loose federation, each society being represented by two delegates. The occasion of its coming into existence was the need of providing, in the absence of anything resembling the British Academy, the machinery by which America might have representation in the meetings at Brussels of the Union Académique Internationale; but it may also pave the way toward some useful co-operation among the American societies—which are such as the American Historical, Economic, Political Science, Philological, Philosophical, Archaeological, and Oriental societies.

I am taking with me, to read on my journey, a copy of your Raleigh Lecture, which has come to me, not from the Academy indeed, as suggested in your letter, but from the Oxford University Press, sent to the American Historical Review. I expect great pleasure in reading it.³¹

While I speak of the American Historical Review, let me remind you of its eagerness for the article on Disraeli which you spoke of writing for us when Mr. Monypenny's final volume had come out. I do not know whether that has taken place; it seems not to have been published yet in America.

With cordial regards,

Very sincerely yours,

April 5, 1920.

MY DEAR LORD BRYCE:

Not long ago I received, through the kindness of the secretary of the British Academy, the two last volumes of its *Proceedings*, and some separate papers that are to form a part of the current volume. They interest me extremely, and I have, in the evenings since, passed a good many pleasant hours over them. But I was rather taken back, to find how useless must have been my recent response to your kind letter of inquiry about another American corresponding member of the Academy, for I perceive, from the lists printed at the beginning of the volume, that Mr. Justice Holmes is already a corresponding member, as perhaps I ought to have known. Perhaps it is legitimate to console myself with evidence that I was thinking along the right lines, in harmony with the Academy's intentions in such matters.

Perhaps it would be too late now to attempt another answer to your question, but if not, I should venture to say that Professor George L. Burr of Cornell University is pretty certainly the most learned historical student in the United States (I think most of the history men would agree to that) and that he has been so universally helpful as well as so universally respected that all would be glad to

³¹ The subject was *World History*.

have him receive any honor that any European academy might think fit to confer. Perhaps he has been too helpful for his own good, for he has not published any large books, and we are all afraid that he will never finish that great book on the history of witchcraft which we have expected from him. He has however published a variety of lesser contributions in that field and others. I presume that a certain number of the English scholars know his name in connection with chapters written for the *Cambridge Medieval History*.³²

I could not write about politics otherwise than with discouragement. The matter of the treaty and all other great matters worthy of high consideration will not be able to receive, in the six months preceding a presidential election, any first rate consideration upon their merits. If the senators have not been able to deal with them otherwise than as partizans hitherto, and on the whole that is about all most of them have done, they certainly will not treat them otherwise than as partizans hereafter. Any one can see, in their extraordinary truckling to the Irish, how coming events cast their shadows before. I have no direct contact with Irish sentiment in this country. I presume that there is a considerable body of Irish-American opinion in America as in Ireland, that retains its sobriety and favors a solution compatible with the integrity of the United Kingdom and other dictates of good sense, but those who make themselves heard, by means of public meetings and otherwise, seem to be wild and half-educated politicians, and certainly the Irish politicians who put pressure upon congressmen seem usually to be extremists. It is all very disquieting.

As for sober people who have no Irish blood, I think outside of New England, they generally believe in home rule, in repressing the Ulsterites and in upholding the integrity of the British Empire. A great many were a good deal shocked at the lengths to which Carson and his followers were allowed to go in 1913 and 1914, and have felt since that a fatal mistake was then made, but of course we are too far away to judge of such things with any security.³³ When I next see you (in some fifteen months I hope) I should like to get you to explain to me why some measure of home rule was not put into effect in 1914. It is a frequent opinion in America that this could and should have been done, but we cannot know the obstacles.

The President continues to gain physically, but his wishes seem to be little regarded, except in so far as the Democrats think it necessary to maintain some appearance of solidarity. His dismissal of Lansing produced a very bad effect throughout the country, and lost him the confidence of a large proportion of those who were still supporting him.³⁴

As to the Republican nomination, the result is still guess-work. If we could have a general vote to-morrow, without making use of any of the machinery of conventions, etc., I think it is pretty clear that many more of the voters would vote for Hoover than for anybody else, but it does not follow that he can get the nomination. He is not the kind of man that the wire-pullers desire. After men of such intellectual gifts as Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson, any of the other candidates, on either side, seem to promise a rather second-rate president, somewhat of the McKinley type, but the wire-pullers prefer such persons. No one seems to take

³² At the bottom of the page there is the notation: "Pres AHA 1916."

³³ Sir Edward Carson's militant opposition to the Home Rule bill openly encouraged Ulster to arm for resistance.

³⁴ The break between the President and his Secretary of State had its beginning in disagreements at the Peace Conference; the immediate cause was Lansing's calling cabinet meetings during Wilson's illness. *Dictionary of American Biography*, X, 610.

much interest in the Democratic nomination. Now that the Democrats are precluded from nominating Hoover, they seem to have no chance of electing a president, though they may conceivably win the House of Representatives.³⁵

It is pleasanter to turn to your mention of Disraeli and Beveridge. I think that in my last letter I did not fail to remind you that we were still hoping for the article anent Disraeli.

On the whole, I think highly of Beveridge's Marshall, and apparently others do so. The style is at times a little too rhetorical for my taste, but the books make interesting reading, and I hear that they are doing very well. Beveridge told me the other day that he had cherished an ambition to write a life of Marshall ever since he was a law student in old Senator Joe McDonald's office in Indianapolis. He has come to my office at various times to talk about the book, as he has talked about it with other professional students of history, ever since he started upon it. I was struck then with the temerity with which he started out upon such an undertaking with so little equipment of historical knowledge; but, with his immense energy, persistence, and vigor, he has left no stone unturned in his search for materials and during the process has taught himself nearly all of the simple arts of our profession that he needed to know, and has stored his tenacious memory with a great deal of historical knowledge. He remains a little sophomoric in mind, is not very deep, and is not quite enough of a lawyer to deal in a really masterly manner with the legal aspects of Marshall's decisions; but it seems to me that this is fairly well balanced by the politician's understanding of Marshall the politician and of the political implications of his work. He wished to make something that people would read, and apparently they are doing so in great numbers, in spite of its being so large and expensive a book. For myself, though I have enjoyed what I have read in it, I think I have derived more real satisfaction from a little book on Marshall of about 50,000 words that young Corwin of Princeton wrote for Allen Johnson's series of *Chronicles of America*, a popular but excellent series of fifty volumes, "sold only in sets", so that you may not have a chance to see Corwin's little book.³⁶ It is good reading, but the thought is far superior to Beveridge's.

Rhodes's last volume has somewhat of his old-time excellence, but is in the main disappointing.³⁷ He is not well.

I think you will be interested in the new *Canadian Historical Review*, and, as they have sent me two copies, I take the liberty to send you one.

With the most cordial regards,

Very sincerely yours,

January 10, 1921.

MY DEAR LORD BRYCE:

When your letter of November 11 arrived³⁸ I was away from Washington, on a somewhat prolonged absence, involving a period of pleasant work in the Public Archives of Canada, at Ottawa, and then the giving of some Lowell Institute lectures at Boston; and the days of December preceding Christmas were much occupied with matters relating to the meeting of the American Historical Association, which this year took place in Washington, on December 28, 29 and 30.

³⁵ Harding and Cox were the opposing candidates in 1920.

³⁶ Edward S. Corwin, *John Marshall and the Constitution: A Chronicle of the Supreme Court* (New Haven, 1919), Vol. XVI of the *Chronicles*.

³⁷ Vol. VIII, *Hayes to McKinley, 1877-1896* (New York, 1919), of the *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850* by James F. Rhodes.

³⁸ Not found.

That meeting was successful in several ways beyond what we expected. The poverty of professors in these days, and the railway-rates, from which we have not been able in these last few years to secure any rebate, such as we used to get, made us expect a diminished attendance; but they all like to come to Washington, where there is much for them to see, novel often to the younger members. The weather was beautiful. We thought and spoke often of the meeting of 1908, when you were president of the American Political Science Association (which met with us this time again) and when you and Mrs. Bryce entertained us so hospitably at the Embassy. Monsieur and Madame Jusserand were so kind as to invite both associations to tea at the Embassy on the final afternoon, a very pleasant occasion indeed. On the day preceding, at our annual business meeting, we had elected him our president for the ensuing year (he was vice-president last year). He came to our Council meeting, and with his customary energy entered into our business forthwith, making some very useful suggestions. We have asked him to serve on a committee of three, which the secretary, Professor Bassett, desired us to appoint, to consider whether there is anything that such an association can do to bring about improvement in the standard of historical writing in the United States. It has never been difficult to find tasks in the line of profitable research, or of providing the means for research, which such an organized body can further, but we are not so sure that there are any means by which better writing can be brought about, sadly as it needs to be done. The committee, consisting of Mr. Jusserand, Mr. Charles W. Colby, who used to be a professor at McGill University, but is now in business in New York, and Professor W. C. Abbott, now of Harvard, will see if anything can be done; at any rate we shall have a report from them, and that will do good, as did Roosevelt's presidential address on "History as Literature".³⁹

Next December we meet at St. Louis, so that Mr. Jusserand will give his presidential address on soil that once was French;⁴⁰ the year after, we expect to meet in New Haven. I will enclose a programme of this recent meeting. One of the chief successes was certainly the dinner of the Wednesday evening—I need not hesitate to say so, as I had nothing to do with planning it and, though they asked me to preside as toastmaster, my only function in that capacity was, as my irreverent daughter put it, to crank the Ford each time (she is a senior in Smith College now, and I thought old enough to be taken to such an affair). The speaking was really very good. Mr. Jusserand's speech was admirable, and so was that of the Secretary of War, and by the way, I think it did much good to his reputation, for it seems that many who were present, especially from New England, where it is customary to blaspheme the administration in every possible direction, had no idea that Mr. Baker was a man of so much intelligence, character, and charm.⁴¹

It is really saddening to me, as an old friend of the man, to see President Wilson ending his administration with so much unpopularity, for while the New Englanders are especially bitter (my native town of Boston has seldom approved of any president or administration, I am sorry to say), everywhere there is more

³⁹ *The Writing of History*, the report of this committee, was published in 1926. Theodore Roosevelt's presidential address for 1912 is printed in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XVIII (Apr., 1913), 473-89.

⁴⁰ "The School for Ambassadors," *ibid.*, XXVII (Apr., 1922), 426-64.

⁴¹ The principal speakers at this dinner were Ambassador Jusserand who spoke on historical processes and modern events; Secretary Baker who discussed the relation of history to the Great War; and James J. Walsh whose topic was historical assumptions respecting progress. *Ibid.*, XXVI (Apr., 1921), 414.

obloquy than that which is customary in the last weeks of any retiring administration. The President's health continues to improve very slowly, but he is still far from well. One of our number who is especially intimate with him, and who on one of the days of the convention sat by his bedside talking with him for some hours (for apparently he still spends a good deal of time in bed), reported him as cheerful, interested in what the Historical Association was doing, alive to all that is going on, but, as he reviews his administration, apparently chiefly dwelling in mind upon the history of what he did and tried to do at Versailles. He has bought a house on S Street near Twenty-third, just north of Sheridan Circle and near where I live, and apparently means to write memoirs of some sort respecting his administration.

The new man has continued to show a perfectly commonplace intelligence. It seems plain that his conferences and preparations for the presidency have increased his sense of anxiety, but they have not visibly deepened his thinking. How much backbone he has is not yet clear. He has done nothing to show that he will be subject to the dominating influence of any one person, but his whole career as senator makes it pretty certain that he will "go along with the crowd", be governed by the joint opinions of the leading senators and Republican politicians. He has shown himself to be a sufficiently experienced and skilful politician to avoid commitments, and nobody seems to be certain of anything respecting the cabinet, save that Hughes will apparently be Secretary of State. I do not think however that Harding will be as much influenced by his cabinet as he will be by his former colleagues in the Senate, especially the more conservative and regular Republicans. He is not appointing Hughes Secretary of State because Hughes has a much more considerable knowledge of foreign affairs than he himself possesses, but because it is a middle course and a generally acceptable selection, whereas to select either Root on the one hand or D. J. Hill on the other would displease a wing of the party.

As to what Congress is doing, or will do, I have little knowledge. They will hardly do anything this session except to pass the appropriation bills, in one of which, by the way, we rather hope that the Senate will shove in a provision for the National Archive Building, though it does not carry that in the House, which is now considering the measure.⁴² With Penrose chairman of the Finance Committee in the Senate and Fordney chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, it will not be thought that the progressives are likely to have much influence in financial matters—nor do I think they have elsewhere. Roosevelt dealt them a fatal blow in 1916. As to the Supreme Court, it is likely that Harding will have the naming of four justices at least, quite remaking the court, and probably he will do this better than Cox would have done.⁴³

At the Carnegie Institution, we have had in December a change of presidents, Dr. Woodward retiring after fifteen years of most excellent administration. His successor, who thus far pleases us all, is John C. Merriam, professor of paleontology in the University of California, elder brother of Charles E. Merriam, professor of political science in the University of Chicago, whom you have perhaps had more occasion to know. I am hoping and supposing that within the next few days things will take such a shape as to decide finally that I shall spend July, August and September in England, conducting my "campaign" for correspondence in private hands of the earlier British ministers in Washington. If you hear of any such

⁴² Dr. Jameson's untiring efforts in behalf of the National Archives continued until 1926, when the Public Buildings Act, approved May 25, authorized the erection of a building.

⁴³ Taft, Sutherland, Butler, Sanford, and Stone were appointed during the Harding administration.

collections, please let me know. I should be particularly glad to know whether Canning's papers are, as I suppose, in the hands of Lord Cork. My business at Ottawa was, as a preliminary or specimen endeavor, to go through the papers of Charles Bagot, minister in 1816-1819, which they have there, and also the letters which the British ministers in Philadelphia and Washington wrote to the governor general of Canada. This I carried down to 1830, with considerable enjoyment to myself.

It is pleasant to know that you have the Disraeli contribution in hand. If the review expands itself into an article, I shall be all the more pleased. If it reaches me in the early days of February, and if you can be content not to see proof (I am very careful about proof-reading), I can use it in our April number, as I shall be very glad to do.

Believe me to be, with the most cordial regard and the best wishes,
Very sincerely yours,

March 30, 1921.

MY DEAR LORD BRYCE:

I thank you for your letter of March 4 and send herewith two typewritten transcripts of your very-much-valued contribution on Disraeli. If you will please correct one of them as proof and send it back to me, I shall be much obliged. Let me say again that I am greatly pleased with myself for having elicited the article, and feel sure that it will be of very great interest to our readers.

I have had no chance to read more than a little of Wells's book.⁴⁴ In that little, I found some things wrongly stated, and, what always troubles me more than mistakes, some judgments that I thought quite unjust respecting certain public characters. Yet I thought that there was a vividness and force and originality and insight that would overbalance a great many faults. Competent friends who have read the whole of the work vary in their judgments, but most of them I think feel that the book is in general good and inspiring, in spite of faults, and at any rate certain to cause multitudes of people to take an interest in history who never found it interesting before.

To read a paper before the British Academy would be an honor which I should very highly appreciate. But am I not right in thinking that between the first of July and the end of September, which is the period that I shall spend in England, the Academy has only one meeting, early in July, and that that meeting is devoted to the annual address of the president, and that it would be contrary to custom to introduce any other paper on that occasion—especially one by a writer who is simply a corresponding fellow? Under this impression, I am looking forward with a great deal of pleasure to being one of the audience on that occasion.

Thus far, I do not think that enough has been done or made public since March 4 to enable us here to judge of the Cabinet otherwise than as we judged of

⁴⁴ Concerning the *Outline*, Bryce had written: "I looked into one bit of it and found that bit full of mistakes, but some people say that despite its mistakes, the book is of some merit. Still, one does not like to see history treated in a slap-dash fashion by a man who cannot have any real knowledge either of ancient or mediaeval history, and may be just as likely to mislead as to enlighten, writing merely from a twentieth century standpoint. A wide and wise view of universal history is greatly needed, but is there anybody fit to write it? . . . The task seems beyond human powers, though, perhaps, another Ranke could accomplish it if he began at 40 instead of 70." Ranke was really eighty-four when he set himself seriously to writing his *Weltgeschichte*. Wells's *Outline of History* is the subject of the lead article in the *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXVI (July, 1921), 641-56.

them, from their previous records, at the time of their appointment.⁴⁵ Hoover and Hughes are the strength of the Cabinet, and contribute more than any others to the general impression, to the effect that it is exceptionally good. Fall is not a good man for Secretary of the Interior; Hoover would have been much better. Daugherty is not a fit man to be Attorney General, I judge. The President has not shown, nor was he expected to show, signs of strong leadership, but he is very greatly liked personally, and his minor actions have been of a sort to give pleasure and indicate a kindly and conscientious man. His inaugural address you have no doubt seen. The thing that interested me most about it, I must confess, was the remarkable sound-transmitting device, installed under his platform, whereby every word he said was distinctly audible to forty thousand people, including for instance those who stood on the steps of the Library of Congress, which I suppose to be one thousand feet away.

In matters concerning our relations to Europe, the drift is certainly away from the irreconcilable foes of the League of Nations and toward some sort of combination for peace. The great struggle in Congress, constantly going on now, and likely to fill all the earlier portion of the extra session, is the struggle over the tariff and the plans of taxation. You know what the tendencies would be, as chairman of committees, of Penrose and of Fordney. To Fordney a high tariff is a fetish and I suppose that if ever there was a Bourbon, he is that man. But the Republican majority is so great that old leaders cannot expect to control it with security, and many Representatives desire to take that fresh view of the financial situation in the United States which the results of the war require them to take. In the House, at least, the party seems to be a good deal sobered by coming into power, and faces with great seriousness the problems of reconstruction that lie before it. By the way, though I am no great admirer of cartoons, I think I will enclose in this one exhibiting the Republican elephant in an aspect suggested by the state of things to which I have just alluded. I cut it from the *Saturday Evening Post*, an estimable weekly, which, as I dare say you know, is the most widely read of all our periodicals.

Now I must stop and go to luncheon at the Round Table, where Dr. Putnam has Vice President Coolidge today. I wish it were possible for you to be at that pleasant assemblage, as some time you used to be. I saw Mr. Jusserand a day or two ago, looking as well and vigorous as ever.

Believe me, with the most cordial regard, and with many thanks for your kind suggestion about the Academy,

Very truly yours,

May 2, 1921.

MY DEAR LORD BRYCE:

I have this morning received the typewritten text of your Disraeli article, and am much obliged to you for its prompt return.

Yes, it is painfully evident, that, on this side of the water, at any rate, a long course of education is necessary before the mass of citizens will have any sort of

⁴⁵ In his letter of March 4, Bryce commented: "Since we cannot have Root we are very glad to have Hughes in the State Department, for he will be independent and philanthropic, and I hope he will be able to bring the U. S. *quacunqve via* into some combination for peace. What I fear is the influence of the Senatorial clique upon a President who is confessedly not strong. I am glad Hoover is coming into the Cabinet, but hear the Attorney-General is not the sort of man who ought to be in the Cabinet. Any views you can give me as to how Harding and the Cabinet will behave will be very helpful."

apprehension of foreign policy which our theory assumes that they are to direct.⁴⁶ Well, I shall at any rate try to do my bit by making publicly known, through this proposed publication of the *Correspondence of the British Ministers in Washington*, the actual history of Anglo-American relations, so far as that end can be promoted by revealing in full the deep and dark designs of Downing Street against the liberties and prosperity of America.

Your book has come here to the office of the Review, and I am reading as much of it as possible before it goes out to the reviewer.⁴⁷ I read it with great admiration and interest. The *Times* thinks it wonderful that a man of 82 or 83 should write at all, but I am not surprised, having read yesterday, in the *National Geographic Magazine* the remark of a traveler in the Altai Mountains, aged 75, that walking twenty-five miles a day is not difficult if you are not carrying a knapsack. I walked twenty-three one day last May without difficulty, but I am a youth of 61. I also remember reading, when I was a young man, articles by your predecessor here, Stratford de Redcliffe, written when he was 93. I hope that you may continue with equal vigor and to equal age.

The article will be out on July 1, I hope and believe, by which date I shall be at or near Liverpool; the proof will be sent to you, but without expectation that you will return it.

With many thanks and with cordial regard,

Very sincerely yours,

May 22, 1922

HINDLEAP, FOREST ROW, SUSSEX.

DEAR PROFESSOR JAMESON

I am sorry to have been so long in acknowledging your 3 kind letters & the enclosures.⁴⁸ Indeed I was not unmindful but I could not write sooner. I have been a good deal stunned by the shock, & am still faced with many unanswered letters. I think you know with what suddenness the blow fell—no illness & no warning. After a day spent as usual in work, & a walk with me in the afternoon, Lord Bryce went to bed that last night apparently perfectly well, & I awoke the next morning to find that he was gone. It was just a quiet passing away in his sleep during the night from failure of the heart. That he was spared all suffering, & that his powers remained undimmed, I am deeply thankful. He was himself to the last, eager, interested & vital—indeed I never saw him more like himself than on that last day of his life, working & planning future work. And the end came very peacefully after a long life of service.

Of my own personal loss, after 33 years of close companionship, I cannot speak; but I can even now feel proud to have shared such a life as his, & to have been able to help him.

⁴⁶ From Bryce's letter of Apr. 15: "The U. S. seems to have made a bold leap from King Stork to King Log. Would it were possible to create an effective public opinion either in the U. S. or here on questions of foreign policy! The necessary foundation of Knowledge is wanting, and one hardly sees how to create it."

"We are disgusted at the solemn pretence of recovering indemnities from Germany by measures which every body knows to be unworkable, predoomed to failure. Things don't seem to improve in Russia, & grow worse in Western Asia."

⁴⁷ *Modern Democracies* (New York, 1921), reviewed by Frederic A. Ogg, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXVII (Oct., 1921), 91-94.

⁴⁸ Viscount Bryce died suddenly on January 22, 1922. Jameson had sent his widow numerous clippings, etc., including the commemorative notice printed in the *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXVII (Apr., 1922), 628.

I have received beautiful tributes from all quarters & countries to the affection & admiration he inspired, & to the wide-spread influence of his character & personality, which give me comfort, & I have wonderful memories of my own which will remain.

Thank you for your own tribute in the Historical Review which I liked very much; & also for sending me that fuller report of the addresses at the Washington Conference which were better than those I had already received. It was indeed a striking tribute to my husband's memory, & it touched me deeply.

With my grateful thanks to Mrs. Jameson & yourself for kind sympathy, believe me

Very sincerely yours
E. MARION BRYCE.

March 31, 1927.

MY DEAR LADY BRYCE:

Last evening I sat up for half the night reading the *Life of Lord Bryce*. I do not know Mr. Fisher well enough to write to him about it, but your own part in the making of the book has plainly been so great that I may, I hope, properly write to you to express the immense pleasure I have had in reading it.⁴⁹ In writing thus I do not mean solely to express my admiration of the book, though I do in fact very greatly admire the skill and breadth and insight and justice with which Mr. Fisher has written; but the larger part of my pleasure came from the lively and moving memory it brought me of that wonderful mind, that exalted character, and that kindly presence. To mention only one of the little touches that brought him vividly again before me, I was struck by Mr. Fisher's little story of the walk near here in 1909, when the shabby stranger accosted the ambassador with a request to tell him about a coin he had happened upon. The relation it implied was characteristic, for this was only one of innumerable evidences of the simple friendliness with which he impressed everyone in America. I, for instance, am proud to remember that this good and great man allowed me to regard him as my constant friend, and gave me many evidences of thoughtful kindness, but I have known of so many to whom the same lavish bestowal of his wonderful gifts was made, that it was always a constant marvel to me, how in twenty-four hours there could be time and thought for the interests of so many.

I do not think that I have ever told you of the last exhibition he gave me of his thoughtful kindness, but it was very characteristic. Arriving in London on the first Monday in July, 1921, for a summer's campaign among papers of 130 years ago, I had, as you may remember, the privilege of seeing him several times before he sailed for Williamstown on the Saturday. On Thursday, after luncheon, he promised or offered me several useful introductions. On Friday I saw him for the last time, as he was about to make an address at the opening of the Institute of Historical Research. Before he went up on the platform, he handed me a bunch of letters of introductions which he had somehow found time to write. Looking them over afterward, I missed one, of which we had spoken, and which I rather wished to have. I said to myself he had forgotten it and that it was no wonder. Three days afterward it came to me by post, for he had written on the steamer going out from Liverpool and sent it back by the pilot. I wonder if there was ever another man, of such position and occupations, who could have been relied upon

⁴⁹ H. A. L. Fisher, *James Bryce (Viscount Bryce of Dechmont, O. M.)* (New York, 1927).

to do thus. I never knew one. It is saying little to say that I shall always regard him with grateful affection.

Dear Lady Bryce, we were all thankful to you, during the years you spent in Washington, for the admirable way in which you supplemented Mr. Bryce's great work among us; but you have now made us all still further grateful by the permanent record of his life and character, and especially of his relations to America and Americans, which you and Mr. Fisher have prepared.

With the most cordial appreciation, and every good wish, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General History

FOURSCORE YEARS: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY. By *G. G. Coulton*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1944. Pp. viii, 378. \$4.50.)

HAILED by the lay world as a notable contribution to a century of British social history, this work will interest the professional historian for the light it throws upon the making of one of the most stimulating and puzzling medievalists of modern times. It is almost forty years since this reviewer first read a work by this author. Since that time there has been an increasing flow of publications from his pen. Nearly all of his larger works have been characterized by the anthological style of the first. Innumerable paragraphs without immediate connection, the rapid juxtaposition of items centuries apart in time and hundreds of miles in space, an almost shameless disregard for "scholarly editions" in the citation of his authorities, an emphasis upon the shadows rather than the glamour and romance of the medieval scene, and a penchant for controversial writing have troubled his scholarly reviewers all these years. Nevertheless, despite these deviations from the standard of accepted historical scholarship which most of his critics condemned as faults, his writings have contained so much substance, so much genuine evidence for his contentions as to compel respect from even his most meticulous reviewers. Nearly all of these traits are revealed in the present work and are, in the later chapters of the book, not only acknowledged but defended. With head bloody but unbowed, he not only justifies his anthological style as a personal preference for the "mosaic" art form whose full effect is gained by cumulative impression, but takes the whole historical profession to task for its failure to use the controversial method as a means of reaching the larger lay audience. His defense of his citation of antiquated texts takes the somewhat indirect form of a tribute to Abbé J. P. Migne. Despite the vigor of his arguments, it is doubtful whether any young scholars will or should be convinced.

It is rather in the earlier major portion of the book, the story of his life, that the most convincing explanation of these traits will be found. These reminiscences reveal how relatively recent is the profession of trained historians in Britain. Cambridge offered no such opportunity for historical training when he was a student there nor for many years thereafter. He left the university to teach in private schools, the subjects of his teaching usually the modern languages. Such schools had but meager libraries, and the income of the position was not such as to permit the acquisition of a large personal library. Nor did his duties afford him much time for reading. But the urge to do scholarly work was there, and despite all the handicaps of his circumstances he made the utmost use of his little opportunities to satisfy it. Endowed by nature with a wide range of interests—antiquarian,

artistic, literary, religious, and social betterment—he pursued all of them at one time or another so that he was nearly fifty years old before he became fully conscious of his true scholarly aim. At an age when most persons begin to think of retirement, he adventured upon a university career. Success in delivering special lectures at Trinity College in 1911 prompted him to give up his regular employment in private schools for a speculative career in Cambridge. For some time the family budget was balanced by fees from varied sources, including private tutoring. It was not until 1919, that, at the age of sixty-one, he obtained a substantial appointment in the university and several years more passed before he gained the position with a comfortable income at St. John's College. Most of his historical publication has been done since that time, virtually all of it after he had reached the age of fifty.

The development of his interest in medieval history was in part the result of chance adventures in accumulating his personal library. Having to practice the utmost economy in his purchases of books, he was more or less dependent upon the secondhand market. An old volume of St. Bernard's *Letters* was one of his first acquisitions, Salimbene's *Chronicle* another, both of which he fairly devoured with lasting effect upon himself. Rashdall's *Universities of Europe* was one of the few contemporary works which he acquired and absorbed in similar fashion. To the interest thus formed the appearance of Migne's *Patrologia* was an incomparable blessing, for it provided him with an almost complete attainable library in the medieval field. Little wonder that his tribute to the abbé is "heartfelt." Few scholars have read the *Patrologia* as thoroughly as Coulton or made so much use of it. It was from such sources that he built up the vast store of his learning about medieval ecclesiastical and social history which his published works reveal. His continued citation of them in preference to the more modern editions available in the libraries of Cambridge may perhaps be regarded as his loyal tribute to the help which they afforded him.

The book is the story of an extraordinary academic career, and though the title *Four Score Years* might suggest a retired retrospect, that is far from being the truth. For several years now he has been teaching at Toronto University and, in his spare moments, delivering lectures at universities scattered over the continent. He was eighty-three years old when he came to the University of Minnesota. It was not difficult to identify the tall, spare figure whose total luggage consisted of a walking stick and a rucksack strapped to his back. That rucksack was so choked with contents that only one side of it could be closed. Out of deference to his years we kept the demands on him to a minimum in order that he might rest as much as possible. We plagued him with only one formal luncheon. On our way there I couldn't resist asking him why he so much preferred Bernard of Clairvaux to Peter the Venerable of Cluny. Flattering me by saying that was the same question which Canon Rashdall had asked him and that he would give me the same answer, he launched forth into a discussion of the relative merits of those two

saintly men. Listening intently, I was suddenly startled by hearing him ask if it was also my observation that young women were wearing less lipstick than they did ten years ago. The interruption had been caused by the passing of two co-eds whom I had failed to notice—but not he. We returned to the discussion of the twelfth century heroes. His explanation was essentially that which appears in his *Five Centuries of Religion*, but, after reading the present work, I wonder whether in studying so intently that old copy of Bernard's *Letters* he had not discovered a kindred spirit and whether in his persistent attacks upon Cardinal Gasquet, he was not only the Anglican curate at war with Catholic propaganda but also the spiritual legatee of St. Bernard at war with another prominent Benedictine of a later time. His lecture that afternoon at Minnesota was delivered in a sprightly manner, and when after tea I took him back to his room, I learned that he had been spending his "rest" reading proof on the last volume of his *Five Centuries of Religion*. It was this galley proof that had so bulged his rucksack. Since that visit, I have had occasion to know that he has published several articles and quarreled pleasantly with the editors of historical reviews in America about the publication of still others. This personal experience makes it much less difficult to understand how he has been able to produce so many books and articles and why he may be counted upon to produce still more.

University of Minnesota

A. C. KREY

BELOVED SCIENTIST: ELIHU THOMSON, A GUIDING SPIRIT OF THE ELECTRICAL AGE. By *David O. Woodbury*. With a Foreword by Owen D. Young. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1944. Pp. xiii, 358. \$3.50.)

THIS review aims to deal with the above volume from three points of view: biographical, scientific, and historical.

Beloved Scientist is the story of a self-made scientist who evolved from a questioning, experimenting boy into a high school teacher and later "A Guiding Spirit of the Electrical Age" during momentous decades. Problems in any field of science presented an alluring challenge to Elihu Thomson, for his broad interest embraced astronomy and geology and biology as well as chemistry and physics. He was, moreover, graciously endowed with a spirit and manner which won him the title "Beloved."

Born in Manchester, England, in 1853 and transplanted to the industrial environs of Philadelphia five years later, he was fortunate in having a father who was a mill mechanic and a mother who was a real educator. *The Magician's Own Book*, an ideal handbook on physics and chemistry for the home laboratory of a boy of twelve, showed him how to make a wine-bottle electric machine produce sparks that "shocked" his father. His skill of hand enabled him to put his ideas into practical form in his youthful days and to co-ordinate laboratory and factory

in later life. Before he was twenty he was an alert teacher of chemistry in high school; a few years later he was associated with the Franklin Institute and, in 1878, conducted what are reputed to be the first efficiency tests on dynamo machines, the purpose being to select one for the Institute. Then, having designed an arc light dynamo and lamp, Thomson, together with a high school colleague, began to manufacture "Thomson-Houston" apparatus first at New Britain, Connecticut, and then at Lynn. The company became a leading manufacturer of apparatus for arc and incandescent lighting by both direct and alternating current and for electric railways based on the Thomson inventions. In 1892 the "T-H" company joined with the Edison interests to form the General Electric Company, of which Thomson became consultant. In the early years of his career Professor Thomson invented and developed electric welding. He had a final record of nearly seven hundred patents. He received high honors, scientific and engineering, here and abroad. He died in 1937 soon after his eighty-third birthday.

The book is replete with revealing and fascinating incidents in Thomson's career and in the interlinking activities of his contemporaries—Brush and Edison and Westinghouse and a score of others—who together laid the foundations of modern electric power service. It is stimulating, easy to read, and suited to grown-ups, whether technically minded or not, as well as to high school boys. Some may feel, however, that an artistic author has embellished the life of a simple man with overmuch eulogy.

Concerning the scientific value of the volume—and "Scientist" is the key word of the title—Dr. F. B. Jewett makes this comment, "Perhaps the most obvious blemish which the book suffers is a lack of technical accuracy. It is evident that Mr. Woodbury is not a technically trained man and has had to rely uncritically on aid from other sources." Dr. Jewett says further that he feels the book is an inadequate presentation of the life work of Professor Thomson, for whom he had "unbounded love and admiration." Like condemnation is merited by other recent books which dramatize worthy engineers. The managing editor comments, "All of this simply illustrates how much historians have neglected the history of science and how few scientists have concerned themselves with the history of their own discipline."

Historically, what place do Thomson and his work merit? The final appraisal of lives and of scientific achievement must be of their contribution to history, to the long-range trend of human progress. A basic factor in shaping modern civilization is power. The steam engine, the engine of Watt, supplying power to mills and factories, to trains and ships (replacing muscle power and wind power) made possible nineteenth century development—industrial and economic, national and international. Mechanical power is limited in range and function, but by driving dynamos it is transformed into electric power and its usefulness is amplified through transmission and reincarnation in motors, large and small, and by production of light and heat and utilization in chemical industry.

At his eightieth birthday celebration I asked Professor Thomson what had inspired him at the Centennial in 1876. He replied, "A dynamo operating one arc lamp." Soon after the Centennial, notably in the 1880's, had come the period of pioneering in the evolution of generators and lamps and motors and "systems" which initiated the twentieth century era of electric power. In all this transitional period Elihu Thomson was a guiding spirit—"A Guiding Spirit of the Electrical Age" and of "The New Epoch," the power epoch, in human progress.

Yale University

CHARLES F. SCOTT

THE SCHOLAR AND THE FUTURE OF THE RESEARCH LIBRARY: A PROBLEM AND ITS SOLUTION. By *Fremont Rider*, Librarian, The Wesleyan University Library. (New York: Hadham Press. 1944. Pp. xiv, 236. \$4.00.)

THIS book has points of interest for the historian. No group more steadily uses libraries and none talks more about them. No other discipline, unless it be literature, presses for more and more books, more and more shelf space, and bigger and better buildings to house the increasing accumulations. To Mr. Rider (or any librarian) this presents a problem. He demonstrates that research and institutional libraries double every sixteen years. This rate holds for strong independent colleges, for the universities, state supported and private, rising since the seventies, and for the older universities like Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Columbia, and others. Many in the second and in the last group now count their volumes in millions; Harvard has about four million and Yale is approaching three million. Another doubling will present an unmanageable demand for space and staff that would swallow up the budget of many departments supposed to use and control this book behemoth. The increase in publications of all kinds and the breeding of new fields of specialization, new colleges, new geographical areas for study and research all are feeders to reservoirs near the bursting point.

What to do about it? There is the weeding out process but which or what are weeds! Who is the head gardener that decides? When it is done it shows about as much result as the biennial attack on the household attic. Libraries should specialize, not duplicate, not all try to cover every field. Now this too is a hardy perennial to talk about but less comes of it than from discussions of the weather. Archives—national, state, local, and business—do not come into Mr. Rider's discussion but they furnish a parallel appalling problem. Even the assignment of the Pentagon as annex No. 1 to the National Archives would hardly suffice for Federal material present and future if a world war is the business of each generation.

Mr. Rider has a solution and presses it vigorously. He first pays tribute to men who like the late Professor Binckley have done so much to develop micro-

photography and similar space-saving devices. He goes for a further compression in what is known as the micro-card, which when perfected will give on one side of the present library card the usual bibliographical data and on the back of the card the contents of a 250 page book. An adaptation of the present enlarging reading machines would serve as eyes for the estimated 200,000 research readers. The solution is to be applied primarily to the material they use, much of which is generally produced in small editions or limited printings of learned journals. Whether this will make publishers and authors happy and meet the needs of users at present too unfamiliar with what is possible with a magnifying machine remains to be seen. In any case the debate about the micro-card or some solution must start. As the chairman of the library committee who started two universities over the million mark and abetted my opposite numbers in other universities I commend Mr. Rider's volume as a galvanizer of a discussion in which historians must enter the lists.

Washington, D. C.

G. S. F.

SIX THOUSAND YEARS OF BREAD: ITS HOLY AND UNHOLY HISTORY. By *H. E. Jacob*. Translated by *Richard and Clara Winston*. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 1944. Pp. xiv, 399. \$4.50.)

H. E. JACOB is a journalist and novelist rather than a technologist, and his treatment of the history of bread savors of journalism. He employs the term "bread" in at least two ways in developing his extensive and complex theme. At times he uses the word in a generic sense as the synonym of food; again he narrows its meaning to the technological equivalent of a food baked from a cereal meal. The six thousand years may be presumed to cover the period of historical records through which he has traced the development of cereal culture. In fact, the book becomes more or less of a history of agriculture, with more emphasis upon its social, religious, and broad economic attributes than upon its science and techniques. Gods and demons, heroes and tyrants, virile races and waning civilizations are depicted in the scenes of the pageant through which Jacob weaves this story.

Primitive man, Egyptians, Hebrews, Greeks, Romans, medieval Europeans, French Revolutionists, residents of the New World, and moderns all appear in the successive scenes of this pageant. Their contributions to cereal culture and bread technology, their superstitions, the function of bread in their religious rites, and its position in their economy are extensively depicted. Empires fell, revolutions derived incentive, armies marched and were defeated in consequence of inadequate supplies of bread.

Since these episodes are presented as a pageant rather than as an erudite historical document, and since the author must have approached his task under the influence of his lifelong training as a journalist, he must be granted the privilege,

which he assumes periodically, of romancing a bit, particularly in areas where the detailed historical records are somewhat inadequate. Generally speaking, the major theses are documented, and a useful bibliography is appended.

One comes away from the reading of Jacob's book with an added appreciation of the role which bread has played in human history and in the development of civilization. The book will not serve as a technological manual for those who are concerned with cereal production and processing, but it does include a reasonably adequate general survey of the progressive development of the art and science of cereal culture, milling, and baking. Some reference is made, also, to certain economic aspects of the cereal industries, and to the general position of bread in mass nutrition. The author closes his final chapter with appropriate emphasis upon the role which bread plays in relief programs following a great war.

University of Minnesota

C. H. BAILEY

STUDIES IN JEWISH HISTORY AND BOOKLORE. By *Alexander Marx*,
Professor of History and Librarian, Jewish Theological Seminary of America.
(New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America. 1944. Pp. xiii, 458.
\$3.00.)

THIS tome comprises a most unusual and excellent collection of essays on rare and unique books hitherto unpublished or not easily available. The volume presents a cross section of scholarship and thought contributing immensely to the understanding of Jewish history and learning.

The studies included in this volume are a product of some thirty years of research. All except one of them were published previously in various scientific periodicals and are brought together here and presented as a token of appreciation to Professor Marx's outstanding scholarly attainment in bibliography and history. Dr. A. S. Rosenbach contributes the foreword, in which he hails this volume as "one of the best books about books that has ever been written."

The first twelve of the twenty-six essays "deal with problems of Jewish history and literature and are arranged chronologically according to the persons, books, or events with which they are concerned. The next six papers are chiefly bibliographical, while the last eight contain short biographical sketches" of personalities and scholars, some of whom the author knew intimately.

As is to be expected, the Golden Age of Spain is well represented in the several essays on Gabirol, Maimonides, and others. The Orient, under the green flag of Muhammad, planted in Spain the most verdant tree in the garden of the Occident. The Arabs conquered the land and with their song and poetry, thought and scholarship, also conquered the people of the land. In this mighty conquest the Jews shared considerably. They enjoyed extensive self-government and played a conspicuous role in the economic, political, and cultural life of the peninsula. Since Arabic monotheism was derived from the Jewish faith, the two peoples

shared a religious interest in theology and exegesis. The Arabic flourishing culture lent impetus to the Jewish cultural renaissance, which in turn precipitated and molded the future growth of medieval European thought. Solomon Gabirol's *Fons Vitae* was for centuries the virtual fountain of life to western European scholastic thought. Alexander Hales, Albert Magnus, Johannes Scotus, and Thomas Aquinas studied diligently Maimonides' *Guide for the Perplexed* and wove its philosophic pattern into the texture of Christian theology. The essay on "The Expulsion of the Jews from Spain" is therefore of considerable interest to the student of Spanish history. It not only complements but helps to modify previous information in this field.

Professor Marx discusses in detail the zeal of the collectors of Hebraica in carrying on the torch of civilization, especially in medieval times, when the world was spiritually frozen. It is regrettable that his article "Jewish Libraries in America" (*Menorah Journal*, XXXI [Winter, 1943]) was not included here. It would have made a handsome companion piece to "Some Jewish Book Collections," "The History of David Oppenheimer's Library," and "The Literature of Hebrew Incunabula." Professor Marx notes that the New York Theological Seminary, of which he is the librarian, has the largest collection of incunabula, even exceeding that of the British Museum. About the rich collection of incunabula in the Hebrew University of Jerusalem little information is available.

Of considerable interest is the essay on "Notes on the Use of Hebrew Type in Non-Hebrew Books, 1475-1520." It contains a wealth of information, is very carefully documented, and covers original sources from many cities and countries.

The book is more than a reprint of essays and addresses. Each essay or note has undergone revision and enlargement, and many new notes were added, based on the author's scholarly research. For example, the essay on the Hebrew type in non-Hebrew books occupies now fifty pages instead of the original twenty-eight. The six studies representing the bibliographical section, written in a lucid style, enhance the scholarly volume.

In fine, the essays are representative of the mighty handiwork of a brilliant and assiduous historian and bibliophile. It is a book of real distinction, rich, colorful, and stimulating.

New York University

ABRAHAM I. KATSH

A CENTURY OF JEWISH LIFE. By *Ismar Elbogen*. Translated from the German by Moses Hadas; with an Appreciation by Professor Alexander Marx. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America. 1944. Pp. xliii, 814. \$3.00.)

STUDENTS of Jewish history have long waited for a supplement volume to Heinrich Graetz's *History of the Jews* carried to 1870 (English edition, Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society, 1893). Elbogen's work, starting with 1848, that

is, a generation before the date where Graetz left off, covers the period up to 1940. It may be noted that a very informative companion volume to Graetz's popular *History of the Jews—A History of the Jews in Modern Times*, by Max Raisin, (New York, Hebrew Publishing Company, 1919)—concludes with developments during World War I.

In terms of topography the scope of the book is considerable. Four main areas are discussed: (a) western and central Europe, (b) eastern Europe, (c) the British Empire and the Western Hemisphere, and (d) Asia and North Africa. It should be said from the outset that in the reviewer's mind the objectives of a survey of the last hundred years of Jewish history are too vast in range and complexity to be mastered by an individual author. Aware of the impossibility of giving a consecutive account of a period so rich in events, the author has confined himself to a presentation of some of its more important aspects: (1) the struggle for political emancipation in the era of liberalism; (2) the impact of anti-Semitism defined as the international of hatred; (3) the rise of Jewish nationalism and resettlement of Palestine; (4) the world unrest on the eve of World War I and the consequences of the war; and (5) Hitler's total war against the Jews.

Professor Elbogen, who died in New York in 1943, did not live to see his volume in print. One of the outstanding scholars in his proper field of Hebrew liturgy, Elbogen taught for many years at the *Collegio Rabbinico* in Florence and the *Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums* in Berlin. Apart from his contribution to *Germania Judaica* he published an outline of a *History of the Jews after the Fall of the Jewish State* (English edition, 1926) and a popular *History of the Jews in Germany* (1935).

Elbogen's approach to his subject and his political credo may best be characterized in his own wording:

Optimism, idealism, and liberalism built up a world and made space for the Jews (1848-1880). Pessimism, materialism, and nationalism undermined that world (1880-1914) and headed Europe along with its Jews to destruction (1914-1939). We are now standing at a turning point which is to determine whether the world is to be delivered wholly to the powers of destruction or to be built up anew upon a foundation of justice.

This oversimplified picture of a century's history may be seriously questioned. It may be asked, for example, whether or not nationalism is to be regarded merely as a destructive force. Without the growing national consciousness of the Jews the resettlement of Palestine could never have been accomplished.

Anti-Semitism is a complex trend to which many a searching analysis has been devoted. We deplore the author's lighthearted statements regarding anti-Semitic excesses. No evidence is given for the statement that "ten thousand Jews were killed and many more wounded" during the tumults of 1898 in the former Austrian province of Galicia (p. 178). In fact we do not know of any casualties in connection with the riots. The same criticism may be applied to the author's

heavy accusations of Russian socialists for taking part in pogroms in October, 1905, (p. 396) and of Bolshevik troops for instigating "more than a hundred pogroms," in 1919 and 1920 (p. 499). Neither of these assertions has been corroborated by documentary evidence.

One would have wished a more integrated picture of the economic structure of the Jewish community, particularly in the United States. In the discussion of the big trade unions founded by Jewish immigrant workers, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union is omitted as well as other unions with substantial Jewish memberships.

The author has confused Secretary of State John W. Foster with Secretary of the Treasury Charles Foster. The statement on the immigration of Russian refugees of August 1, 1891, from which a passage is quoted on page 336, was made by the Secretary of the Treasury, who handled immigration affairs at that time. John W. Foster, it may be noted incidentally, became Secretary of State a year later.

The social agencies should have been treated more thoroughly. It is not correct that the Alliance Israelite Universelle (Paris), in the years between 1870 and 1880, facilitated the emigration of "no fewer than 41,507 Jews from Russia to the United States" (p. 62). The Alliance was actually instrumental in the establishment of an aid committee in Königsberg, in 1869, which assisted some seven hundred rigorously selected persons on their way to the United States. These activities were discontinued in 1872. N. Leven, the historiographer of the Alliance, refers to 41,507 Russian immigrants to America in the same decade as a total figure. The assistance of the Alliance extended only over the period from 1869 to 1871. Almost all the overseas emigration from Russia was unassisted. The United Hebrew Charities of New York was already established in 1874, not in the early eighties (see p. 333). It is to be regretted that the activities of such important agencies as the Hias of America, the National Refugee Service, and the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds are not surveyed. The Industrial Removing Committee (pp. 428, 799) should read Industrial Removal Office.

In the otherwise extensive notes no mention is made of the chief source for the history of the famous Dreyfus case, Joseph Reinach's *Histoire de l'Affaire Dreyfus* in seven volumes, of *Baron Maurice de Hirsch* by Oscar M. Straus (2d ed., New York, 1928), of *Two Decades of the Keren Hayesod* by A. Ulitzur, of *Jews and Arabs in Palestine* (Studies in a National and Colonial Problem [New York, 1936]), of *The Histadruth: A Labor Commonwealth in the Making* by A. Revusky (1937), or of *Jewish Emigration from Germany, 1933-1938*, by the reviewer (in *Jewish Social Studies*, 1940, No. 1). J. Starr's *Jewish Citizenship in Rumania* (*Jewish Social Studies*, 1941, No. 1) should have been used as one of the valuable contributions to the problem in English. *Proceedings* of the American Jewish Historical Society is a misnomer of *Publications*.

New York City

MARK WISCHNITZER

Ancient and Medieval History

CORINTHIAN VASES IN THE HEARST COLLECTION AT SAN SIMEON. By *D. A. Amyx*. [University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology, Volume I, No. 9.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1943. Pp. 207-32. 50 cents.)

THE HEARST HYDRIA: AN ATTIC FOOTNOTE TO CORINTHIAN HISTORY. By *H. R. W. Smith*. [University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology, Volume I, No. 10.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1944. Pp. 241-90. 75 cents.)

THESE two essays are models for the presentation of new material in their field. Good photographs and complete descriptions are supplemented by references to related vases and keen stylistic analyses. But the necessary minutiae of detail never become ends in themselves; instead they are always used to illumine some broader aspect of style, chronology, or history.

Thus Dr. Amyx, in his study of the best of the five smallish Corinthian vases presented here, a pyxis with handles in the form of female busts, brings together new material on what he calls, following a suggestion of Payne's, the "Delicate Style," which he analyzes and then uses as a measuring rod for the development of Corinthian vase painting as a whole. Similarly the discussion of a flat-bottomed aryballos of the Middle Corinthian period leads to a characterization of what is christened the "Heavy Style," and to suggestions as to how the manner of drawing certain decorative motives may be used as a guide in dating. An oinochoe and a pyxis are placed in their newly appraised larger context, and the fifth vase, a bottle, is discussed with respect to its unusual shape.

Professor Smith presents a searching study of a handsome Attic black-figured hydria which he dates between 560 and 550 B.C. by a set of proofs independent of those used by Payne for a closely related vase. In connection with the vexed question of the Corinthianizing phase of Attic black-figure, the Attic discipline of the Hearst hydria, harmonizing and restraining the haphazard gaiety of Corinth, gives added proof to the belief that there is no such thing as an "Attico-Corinthian" style.

All this is for the archaeologist, but the historian will find the second part of the study of greater interest. Here a variety of archaeological evidence is marshalled to support the low rather than the high dating for the Kypselid tyranny at Corinth, which makes the fall of the dynasty come in 449/8, instead of in 484/3 B.C. The former date corresponds neatly with the abrupt falling off of Corinthian vase painting about 550 B.C., and its replacement in foreign markets by other wares, a phenomenon hard to explain for the high dating, if one is to believe that Corinth's prosperity was linked to the rule of the tyrants. If their fall

weakened the city's Adriatic colonies, founded to protect trade and provide a safe thoroughfare to Italy, then the evidence of Italian tombs for the sudden end of Corinthian ceramic trade with Italy about 550 B.C. is additional corroborative proof, as is the rarity of Late Corinthian vases in Rhodian tombs. There they are supplanted by Samian Fikellura ware, "sourly Corinthiophobe" in style, evidence perhaps of the beginnings of the rise of Samos to power, as well as of her ill will toward Corinth.

Wheaton College

WILHELMINA VAN INGEN ELARTH

CORINTH: RESULTS OF EXCAVATIONS CONDUCTED BY THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS. Volume I, Part II, ARCHITECTURE. By *Richard Stillwell, Robert L. Scranton, and Sarah Elizabeth Freeman*, with contributions by *H. Ess Askew*. (Cambridge: Published for the American School of Classical Studies at Athens by Harvard University Press. 1941. Pp. xiv, 243, 20 plates [separate volume].) Volume VII, Part I, THE GEOMETRIC AND ORIENTALIZING POTTERY. By *Saul S. Weinberg*. (*Ibid.* 1943. Pp. xiv, 104, plates.) Volume XI, THE BYZANTINE POTTERY. By *Charles H. Morgan II.* (*Ibid.* 1942. Pp. xv, 373, plates.)

ARCHAEOLOGICAL evidence is especially welcome for the history of a city which like Corinth is so little known from the written word.

The site was apparently largely deserted during the last millennium of the Helladic age. The beginnings thereafter, as Weinberg has now first reconstructed them, consisted of a few families living precariously. Five pots from beneath the floor of a destroyed hut survive from the Submycenaean period (roughly 1050-1000 B.C.); thirteen vases from a child's grave alone represent the Protogeometric century (1000-900). The pottery is proved to have been made at Corinth; shapes and decorations were borrowed from Attica or the Argolid, but from the first there are indications of a sturdy independence in their use. It is good pottery; Asine bought four pieces, Argos a quantity. In the early Geometric period (900-800), among fifty-three vases three were imported from Argos, the Cyclades, and Attica; on the vases made at Corinth the decorative motives are few but distinctive; the aryballos is developed, a century earlier than had been thought; and vases were exported to Aigina, to Megara, and to Zygouries. Late Geometric (800-750) shows the same trend: one importation, from Argos (?); several exportations, to Delphi most of all, to the Argolid, Attica, and the Cyclades.

For all this epoch down to 750 B.C. there has been a tendency to think of many small local centers of production (though we had not known Corinth began so early), each independent of the others with hardly any inter-city trade. Now we must revise this, to take into account not only the trade which the evidence just given attests but even more to allow for much interchange of potters' notions of

shapes and decoration, which Weinberg's firsthand knowledge of many wares from many sites has enabled him to spread before us. Into this somewhat more close-knit world, at the end of the Geometric period, the knowledge of writing was about to come (or had come shortly before) and to spread more easily than had seemed possible hitherto.

But local traits were real and vigorous. Lightening their formerly rotund vases with more svelte shapes ringed with band on band of stripes (750-725), the potters of Corinth had already begun to make a definitely superior product when Oriental designs became known. It was precisely the moment. After centuries of preparation Corinth was ready, and she put the new designs to work. Under Bacchiad aristocrats and then brilliant tyrants, Corinth captured a near monopoly of the expanding far-flung market for luxury vases. These make up the rest of Weinberg's book; this part of the story is already told in Payne's *Necrocorinthia*—and there is matter for thought in H. R. W. Smith's recent meticulous essay, *The Hearst Hydria* (see review above)—but the scores of new vases are welcome as coming from Corinth itself, and as being freshly and nicely presented.

I note one error: in early Corinthian, padded dancers are not the only humans represented (p. 73), since vase no. 260 has ten warriors. Shield devices might be connected with previous studies; the ornithology seems a bit uncertain; and a few fragments of inscriptions are merely recorded (pp. 58, 71, 76). These defects are trivial. For the earlier periods, particularly, there is a crying need of more pottery published as this is.

Stillwell's volume brings along the publication of the buildings of Greek and Roman Corinth to a middling state of completion. What's done is excellently done; much remains. For the great age of Corinth it may be noted here that the excavations have produced the finest set of archaic moldings to be seen on any Greek site (L. T. Shoe, *per coll.*). Another great building period was the late third and the beginning of the second century B.C. (Stillwell, p. 128; Freeman, p. 233), a fact which should be connected with the finding that the few preserved decrees are of the same period (*Harvard Stud. Class. Philol.*, LIII [1942], 109-13). The earthquake of 77 A.D. was followed by extensive constructions (p. 129), and the last great building period was the end of the fourth century after Christ.

In the present volume, R. L. Scranton centers an archaic rock-cut shrine on the top of what became later the fountain of Glauke; the amount of conjecture is not masked, and at the very least we have a painstaking study of the area, the fountain itself being of the Greek period, but Temple C late Augustan or early Tiberian. Stillwell puts Temple A in the fourth century B.C.; it was small, and the Peribolos of Apollo did not receive grand embellishments until the first half of the first century after Christ. The only other Greek building treated herein is the Northwest Stoa: in a masterly disentangling of the evidence, and with drawings of a quality to match, Stillwell shows us a Greek stoa of about 200 B.C. Shops were added *ca.* 100 A.D., the Stoa having been restored under Augustus. Miss

Freeman found that Poros Temple E, a considerable building for its time, belongs *ca.* the reign of Claudius; destroyed in 77 A.D., it was rebuilt with marked changes, *ca.* 100 A.D., in marble, with sculptured pediments inspired by those of the Parthenon. Miss Freeman's discussion of the identity of this building is exemplary: the reader is bound to hope it may be proved to be that of Jupiter Capitolinus. Of Antonine date, finally, is the imposing Façade of the Colossal Figures, which Stillwell reconstructs in one of many handsome plates.

Using a more ornamented style, C. H. Morgan II takes us through the winding streets among the little buildings which in the flourishing period of Byzantine Corinth (ninth to eleventh centuries) crowded much of the old Roman forums. With a glance—one wishes it were more—at other buildings, such as a monastery across the street, we enter a pottery. Morgan explains the Byzantine factory by one of today. Methods are much the same, likewise some products: a few present-day wares have a history of a millennium. One factory in Byzantine Corinth was producing five quite different kinds of pottery at one time. Morgan's book is based on a selection from the Byzantine sherds found at Corinth "since 1896" (actually only thirty before 1929); in all, his catalogue has 1,788 pieces, and by reason of the wealth of material and the care with which it has been studied and presented, *Corinth*, Volume XI, is obviously a major contribution. Miss M. A. Frantz has shown that to the student of literature the volume offers new and early illustrations of the Greek epic of Digenis Akritas, whom she identified from an Athenian sherd, just as the present volume was in proof (*Hesperia*, X [1941], 9-13; *Byzantion*, XV [1940-41], 87-91; the basis for H. Grégoire, *ibid.*); are nos. 1121, 1520, and 1521 also related? To the economic historian the volume offers a picture less clear as to chronology and place of origin (the index lacks a reference to pages 107 and 151) than will eventually emerge; but it offers much, including proved relations with Persia and possible connections with Tang China. (For a summary see p. 347 [table], pp. 167-71, and Miss Frantz's authoritative review, *Art Bulletin*, XXVI [1944], 58-60.) For the history of religion note that there is only one representation of Christ (no. 1102, p. 127, and fig. 101; but no entry "Christ" in index). For military garb, the fustanella is established at a new early date (add p. 153 to the index *s.v.* "fustanella"). The last centaur appears on page 155. A single Mohammedan, on no. 369, is greeted with the inscription, "Long live the cuckolds" (p. 68).

The illustrations to this volume, as to the others here reviewed, are of the same superior quality as the texts.

Harvard University

STERLING DOW

ENGLISH LITERARY CRITICISM: THE MEDIEVAL PHASE. By J. W. H. Atkins, formerly Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge; Emeritus Professor of English Language and Literature, University College of Wales, Aberystwyth.

stwyth. (Cambridge: at the University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1943. Pp. lx, 211. \$3.00.)

THIS book derives many advantages, not only from the author's investigations, but from his previous studies. Professor Atkins is author of two volumes entitled *Literary Criticism in Antiquity*. The result is the presentation of a connected, unified story of literary criticism in the English Middle Ages. Unity in literary history is an ideal to be sought, since it is more important than detail or doctrine. The study before us offers, in the first place, a consideration of the legacy inherited (in abridged form) by the Middle Ages from ancient times. The author then shows how this body of critical dicta was modified by patristic influences, how certain new light came in the twelfth century through the reading and appreciation of the Latin classics at Chartres and other educational centers, how this literary renaissance was almost destroyed by the absorption of the educated mind in science and theology, how further classical inspiration came by way of Petrarch and Boccaccio, and how the ancient warfare of formalism and materialism against literature went on until the Renaissance in the sixteenth century, interrupted now and then by the sporadic appearance of genius. One sees how the inadequate medieval doctrines of poetry and drama lived on through the Renaissance and beyond it. Indeed, one must conclude that the literary renaissance in sixteenth century England succeeded largely because it failed to be as rhetorical and pseudo-classical as it thought it ought to be. Elizabethan rhetoric was, for the most part, a simple grammar-school affair and beneficial; boys read the Latin classics in school and imitated them, also beneficial; but there seems to have been little rigorous indoctrination in critical matters. The Elizabethans were somehow rescued from allegory, from ornamentation as a matter of duty, and from a too narrowly conceived decorum. They also happily followed a theory of tragedy which gave to conduct and conscience along with fate a share of responsibility for disaster. This new sort of ἀμαρτία, the author tells us, appeared first in the writings of John of Salisbury.

Bede, who was interested in grammar, appears as an authority in criticism largely because he was a lover of literature, particularly Biblical literature. He and Alcuin bridge the gap between antiquity and the Middle Ages, for from the British educational movement in which they participated there arose, mainly in France, the twelfth century renaissance made familiar to us by the studies of Mullinger and Haskins. In this twelfth century group appeared a really significant major figure, and we owe Professor Atkins a debt for calling attention to the literary and critical importance of the great and gifted scholar John of Salisbury. Professor Atkins devotes a chapter to him and shows again how full his works are of important and original ideas. John of Salisbury appreciated the greatness of pre-Christian literature and, like other truly great men throughout the Middle Ages (Roger Bacon, Wycliffe, Chaucer), directs his teaching toward simplicity of utterance and fresh observation and judgment of life.

The controlling doctrinaires of the rather narrowly conceived poetics of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were Geoffrey of Vinsauf and John of Garlandia, both known to Chaucer. One is pleased to find in Professor Atkins' book an endorsement of Manly's great contention that, although Chaucer knew the poetics of Geoffrey and John and followed it with some fidelity in his early works, perhaps always to some extent, he gradually shook off the formal shackles and came to a point where rhetoricism was no longer in evidence, being concealed in an apparently unmannered depiction of life. As with most great poets, nature and art became one and indistinguishable in his work. Artistic culture must go all the way, and the curse of the learned world is the half-finished product. The author gives us also an excellent study of Roger Bacon, an advocate of better texts and better translation, whose general greatness of mind carried over from philosophy into the field of literary criticism. Most of the significant literary criticism of the Middle Ages was, like Bacon's, incidental. Two chapters at the end of the book are devoted to literary criticism in the vernacular—*The Owl and the Nightingale* (of which the author has published an excellent edition) and the works of Wycliffe, Chaucer, Caxton, Hawes, and Skelton, with some consideration of Lydgate.

The author does not allow himself to be misled by the appearance of exceptional figures. There were many such in the Middle Ages, for the free spirit of inquiry and creation appears again and again, for example, in Nigel Wireker, Walter Map, John of Salisbury, Robert Grosseteste, Langland, Chaucer. But these men did not have their way. The course of academic formalism droned on, with its confused thinking and its lack of discrimination and common sense. Reliance on wrongly understood authority was the regular thing, and the ancient prejudice against drama and poetry was never long silent. What one gets from this book is a very truthful picture of human behavior in its thoughts and actions about the art of poetry.

There is a ripeness of scholarship about this author, and it is a gratification and something of a relief to read the work of a man who does not proceed with his subject as if he were the first of modern scholars to undertake it. Professor Atkins knows the scholarship as well as the body of his subject. He knows the work of American as well as English scholars, is acquainted with the writings of C. S. Baldwin, John Berdan, D. L. Clark, Edmond Faral, C. H. Haskins, G. P. Krapp, J. M. Manly, C. G. Osgood, L. J. Paetow, H. R. Patch, W. F. Schirmer, R. Weiss, L. Winstanley, and other recent scholars. This knowledge does not make the author less original but far more original.

University of North Carolina

HARDIN CRAIG

Modern European History

THE LEVELLER TRACTS, 1647-1653. Edited by *William Haller*, Professor of English in Barnard College, Columbia University, and Fellow of the Huntington Library, 1940-1941, and *Godfrey Davies*, Member of the Research Staff of the Huntington Library. (New York: Columbia University Press in co-operation with Huntington Library. 1944. Pp. vi, 481. \$6.50.)

LEVELLER MANIFESTOES OF THE PURITAN REVOLUTION. Edited, with Introduction and Commentaries, by *Don M. Wolfe*, New York University. Foreword by Charles A. Beard. (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons. 1944. Pp. xiv, 440. \$5.00.)

IN mid-seventeenth century England a little group of men staged an intellectual dress rehearsal for the American Revolution of the succeeding century. Traveling by different paths through the excited controversies of the 1630's and 1640's about religion, about the nature of the English constitution, and about the natural rights of man, they reached common ground in a party creed whose principles are practically identical with Jefferson's preamble; they devised party machinery anticipating in a startling degree that of Sam Adams' committees of correspondence; they reached further toward doctrines of a written constitution as the supreme law emanating from the will and assent of the people, binding and controlling government; more dimly they saw the ideas of the constituent assembly and judicial review. The men and their ideas were but a small minority, a voice crying in the wilderness of the seventeenth century. Cromwell tarred them with the name of Levellers, alleging that they sought to "level men's estates"; they accepted the name as earnest of the fact that they aimed at the leveling of all special privilege and exemption before the law. For a few crucial moments in 1647, 1648, and 1649 they held an important position on the political stage. Then they passed away forgotten. The English constitution evolved away from their ideas toward parliamentary supremacy; for English students of constitutional and political theory they became museum pieces of little interest. Their influence on the American Revolution, which wrote into American polity their constitutional premise, the supremacy of law, in part derived from the fact that John Locke cribbed from them in his two essays on government; in part from the fact that Puritanism, whether in seventeenth century England or eighteenth century America, when subjected to certain external pressures evidently produced identical intellectual reactions.

The story and doctrines of these men as described by themselves, by their friends, and by their enemies lie in some hundreds of the twenty thousand or more pamphlets produced by the great Civil War. Selections from one group of pamphlets tangent to the Levellers was made by Mr. Haller in his *Tracts on Liberty*. The still more insignificant group of Diggers and their intellectual

leader, Gerrard Winstanley, have received more attention mainly because Winstanley's thinking runs very much to the organized economic society, to the New Deal, and even to the sovietized state. Mr. Sabine has recently got out an admirably edited reprint of part of his writings.

It is interesting that from two different publishers in the same publishing season should have come two documentary volumes representing a selection from Leveller publications. In either case the selection of fifteen or twenty Leveller or anti-Leveller pamphlets must be arbitrary, and it is not for a reviewer to quarrel with the selections and exclusions that must be so made. Mr. Haller's and Mr. Davies' volume allots a third of its pamphlet titles to that most fascinating and illusive man, William Walwyn. He walked and questioned among the London Puritans much as Socrates walked among the citizens of ancient Athens; and many of the Puritans would gladly have seen him share Socrates' fate. Mr. Wolfe is inclined to place a little more emphasis upon the violent and vehement Richard Overton and upon material emanating from the Army Levellers. The present reviewer regrets that neither compilation found room for the full text of Lilburne's *Legall Fundamentall Liberties*, but one cannot have everything.

An account of the Levellers which should begin where the reviewer's *Leveller Movement* left off, a book which was certainly a *meisterstück* rather than a masterpiece, is seriously needed, but no one should undertake it until free access to English materials is once more available. As a single example, my colleague Mr. R. P. Stearns informs me that there is a great mass of unpublished Clarke papers in the library of Worcester College containing much material which can throw new light on the contributions of the rank and file of the army to Leveller ideas.

Drs. Haller and Davies wisely offer only a short introduction of fifty pages, sufficient to orient the reader and to place the Levellers in their due setting of historical evolution. It makes the additional contribution of working out both the connection and divergence between the Leveller movement and the radical independent churches of London. It, as well as the introduction to Dr. Haller's *Tracts on Liberty*, is an essential corrective and addition to my *Leveller Movement*. It is to be regretted that Mr. Wolfe, who offers a historical introduction of one hundred pages, did not confine himself similarly and obtain more space for pamphlet material. Essentially his historical narrative runs parallel to his pamphlets, making little if any contribution to what is already available in print.

University of Illinois

THEODORE C. PEASE

SOCIAL CRITICISM IN POPULAR RELIGIOUS LITERATURE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. By *Helen C. White*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1944. Pp. ix, 330. \$3.50.)

THE vein of ore tapped here is not a new one. Students of the sixteenth century scene have long gathered nuggets from Latimer, Lever, Crowley, and other

pulpiters whose writings are easily accessible. The merit of Miss White's work is, first, that she places these familiar figures within the continuity of the tradition to which they belong, the socio-religious tradition of Langland and Wycliffe; and secondly, that she enlarges their circle to include many, who, though less well-known, are none the less proficient in their use of terse English and hard-hitting invective. The rather full use of source extracts will not please those who dislike copious quotation. Others, of whom I am one, will think it one of the book's chief virtues.

The overthrow of the old ecclesiastical order and the establishment of the new, chief concern of the reforming clerics, is not a cause to excite many today. But there is something both timely and familiar in the pattern through which Miss White traces the activities of its protagonists. First their tie-up with radicals of all hues, each group seeking through the struggle against ecclesiastical wealth and pompous bishops to capitalize on the general unrest of the age in order to effect changes that will serve its particular ends. Then their hard-won victory, followed by a quick desertion of erstwhile companions. Religious reformers and social and economic radicals made excellent allies early in the struggle; but later, advocates of equal distribution of wealth would prove embarrassing teammates to a group which needed the support of the propertied classes to consolidate its new gains. "There is no defender of the status quo more convinced than the rebel who has just successfully established his rebellion, and no one less sympathetic to other revolutionary prospects" (p. 134). This about face on the part of the clerics was not, Miss White thinks, sheer opportunism, but sincere belief in a course in which they saw no inconsistency.

The chapter on Utopia and the commonwealth tradition is an interesting one and not unrelated. But since the writings with which it deals do not come within the category of religious literature, it mars somewhat the cohesion of the book. The author's style is ponderous in spots and now and then an involved bit of sentence structure does poor justice to her clarity of thinking. But she is sound in analysis, judicious in the selection of material, and nowhere strains the evidence to gain her point.

Vassar College

MILDRED CAMPBELL

JOHN DURY: ADVOCATE OF CHRISTIAN REUNION. By *J. Minton Batten*, Professor of Church History, Scarritt College. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1944. Pp. v, 227. \$2.50.)

It may be said at the outset that Professor Batten has written a very good book. Various parts of the story have been told before, more recently by Bowman, Briggs, Klahr, Lindeboom, Newman Smyth, Hubler, and others; but never before have all the materials relating to Dury been gathered together in one place and put together in such clear and readable form. The life of John Dury (1596-1689) is,

in fact, the history of a failure, though a magnificent failure, and it comes at an appropriate time when other and more successful efforts are being made to complete the great task to which he set himself—the union of the various Protestant communions to which he devoted his life, as it happened, in vain. He was, in fact, centuries ahead of his time, and that might well have been his epitaph, though neither he nor his contemporaries ever realized it. He was a “traveller in the work of peace” for some forty years, at the end of which time he had accomplished virtually nothing in his great task of bringing together the various Protestant communions into anything like the semblance of unity which the Roman Catholic church offered, and it is a tribute to his energy, his patience, and his incurable optimism that he seems to have died in the hope that somehow, somewhere, that great work might be accomplished. He forgot only one thing—it was the old dictum that “it is the business of a Dissenter to dissent”—and on that rock his plans came to shipwreck. He was not able to bring together even the English and Scottish churches, much less the various Protestant communions of the Continent. This was partly due to the statesmen and politicians of Europe but still more, apparently, to the theologians. Yet his life was far from being wasted. He did not, indeed, achieve anything very tangible in connection with the so-called “Protestant Interest” of the Protector. He did not achieve the union of the Protestants which he sought so long and earnestly; but he did lay the foundations for a better understanding among the various schools of belief which he strove so long and earnestly to unite, and he offered an example to those who have followed him in that great, if insuperable task.

To the account of this great enterprise Professor Batten has brought wide reading, entire comprehension, and talents of narration which make his book the definitive statement of one of the most impressive efforts ever made to bring together the divergent elements of which the Protestant church is composed. It is not merely a life of Dury, it is an account of the turbulent activities of Protestantism in the seventeenth century, and it adds not merely to our knowledge, but, what is more important, to our understanding of the manifold elements which went to make up that troubled period of a “contentious, dividing age,” which covered the greater part of one of the most contentious of modern periods. It is scarcely less important for its political than for its theological materials. It sheds new light on the centrifugal tendencies which dominated the Protestant world and no small light on the growing sentiment of territorialism, if not of nationalism, which began to make its appearance in that period. All in all it is a distinct contribution to the history of a peculiarly vexed and complicated period, and Professor Batten is to be congratulated on a work which has contributed so much to our understanding of what has always been, and probably always will be, a difficult era for later generations to understand. That Dury’s efforts proved vain is, in a sense, of little importance. His activities, especially in a period like our own, in which there are some small indications of achieving the goal which he set for himself, must always be a model and an inspiration to those who have, in one way

or another, looked forward to something of the result for which he strove so long and earnestly.

Harvard University

WILBUR C. ABBOTT

CARTERET AND NEWCASTLE: A CONTRAST IN CONTEMPORARIES.

By *Basil Williams*. (Cambridge: at the University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1943. Pp. 240. \$3.50.)

For half a century the professor of history emeritus at Edinburgh has been laboring to reconstruct the whole vast and twisting scene of English politics and diplomacy from the reign of Anne to the American Revolution. He has written classic biographies of two of its greatest statesmen, Stanhope and Chatham. In *The Whig Supremacy, 1714-1760*, he has shown his mastery of the narrative form, especially when detailing the chronicle of eighteenth century diplomacy. Now, in turning to Carteret and Newcastle, he has chosen a theme nicely suited to his skill both as a biographer and as a narrator. His brief and lucid book represents a distillation of his enormous erudition. It is a capital summary of politics in early Georgian England. Rarely, if ever, has a historian demonstrated with such clarity how there was room within the political structure of their day for two men at once so typical of eighteenth century political convention and yet so different in their concept and use of power.

"Look here, on this picture, and on this." There is no mistaking the essential features of Carteret and Newcastle, for Professor Williams has drawn them sharp. His hero, Carteret, bears the front of Jove—statesman, savant, orator, *bon vivant*; in him the gods gave the world assurance of a man. Yet for all the splendid endowments that made him a natural leader, Carteret was "a brilliant failure." The duke, on the other hand, in spite of everybody's laughing at him, proved to be the indispensable figure of every administration from 1724 until the accession of George III.

The two men stand forth in bold relief. Carteret, caring not a fig for popularity, was a political independent. Like the Pitts he had almost no party. Newcastle above all was a party man—a party man, that is, so long as he could keep himself in office. (He probably influenced the return of a hundred members to Parliament in 1734 and in shoring up the king's interest during his forty-odd years of service reduced his income from £40,000 to a mere £6,000.) Carteret was a court Whig, a king's friend, Newcastle a Whig, who kept an eye to the court and another on the country. Carteret is said to have declared, "Give any man the Crown on his side, and he can defy everything," while the duke, no less a king's servant, nursed Parliament and the noxious corners of England where majorities were hatched. Carteret the Olympian, in the supremacy of his self-confidence, conceived it his business "to make Kings and Emperors, and to maintain the balance of Europe." Poor Newcastle was as prostrated by the fact of a hostile coalition as by the prospect of a damp bed. Carteret, if he did not foresee the

renversement des alliances of 1756 and clung to the "Old System," appreciated Britain's vital stake in commerce and sea power, and went along with Pitt's all-embracing strategy in the Seven Years' War. "Carteret," Professor Williams writes, "never lacked a policy, but could never command a party to carry it through"—Newcastle "always had a party . . . but never a policy."

Yet both men had points of similarity. Aristocrats, they were far from oblivious of the common people. Carteret championed their liberties, and Newcastle confessed in Sam Adams vein, "I love a mob." Each in his way tried to fulfill the patrician duty of serving king and nation. Carteret, who sought to "knock the heads of the Kings of Europe together," tended to ignore his fellow ministers, and so forgot a means essential to his end. Newcastle, who spent himself rallying "friends" in support of the Revolution settlement, lost sight of the end in pursuit of the means.

But if Professor Williams succeeds in showing how Carteret the independent and Newcastle the man of party moved within the framework of Georgian political conventions, he does not adequately answer the question why they acted as they did. The biographer in him attributes too much to personal idiosyncrasies, the chronicler too much to the march of events. Nor does he quite point up these conventions. The revealing phrases, "sole minister" and "storming the Closet," are not revealed, and Newcastle's repeated betrayal of his colleagues passes for personal ambition and not for what it also was, a tendency excited in virtually every minister throughout the century by the fact that the government was in fact the king's. More attention to the rival courts of the monarch and the prince of Wales would have emphasized their magnetic attraction as well as their relation to two most significant struggles—the jockeying of ministers for greater "interest" with the sovereign and the contest between the crown and party groups for control of the executive. What distinguishes the extended scene of eighteenth century politics from Blenheim beyond Waterloo is not the growth of innovations like the cabinet or the paring of the crown's influence. It is the constant reappearance of the same conventions, tempered as they were by the accident of personality. The pattern of English politics in the eighteenth century resembles nothing so much as figured wallpaper.

Yale University

LEWIS P. CURTIS

A JUDGMENT OF THE OLD RÉGIME: BEING A SURVEY BY THE PARLEMENT OF PROVENÇE OF FRENCH ECONOMIC AND FISCAL POLICIES AT THE CLOSE OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR. By *Paul H. Beik*, Instructor in History, Columbia University. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Number 509.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1944. Pp. 290. \$3.00.)

THIS volume makes an important contribution to the neglected history of the last years of Louis XV's reign. The existence, in the Seligman Collection of Colum-

bia University, of this manuscript survey of economic conditions by the *parlement* of provence seems to have been unknown even to the writers of monographs on the *parlement* at Aix. Each of the fourteen volumes, about nine by fourteen inches, contains about nine hundred pages, written on half of the page, with Volume XIV about double that size. Many questions about these Provence *Memorials* can only be solved when archives in France are again accessible. Who were the members of the commission chosen to prepare the *Memorials*? Was this actually a co-operative work as Mr. Beik assumes? Who wrote the marginal comments and corrected the copyist's text? Are the statistics reliable? Is any part of another copy preserved in the records of the *parlement* at Aix?

The absence of an adequate description of the volumes and of their contents might lead historians to underestimate their value. The two memorials, out of five planned, actually comprise the whole range of economic conditions following the Seven Years' War. There are innumerable separate chapters on individual taxes or conditions, and the text includes many statistical charts, such as the tabulation of the *capitation*, *aides*, and *gabelles*, a study of which might throw new light on the conclusions of Stourm and Marion. Furthermore, where such statistics are now lacking for other provinces, the *Memorials* may prove invaluable, for as Mr. Beik has pointed out, the *parlement* was speaking for all of France and not just for their own province.

The three-fold objective of the author was to describe the position of the *parlement* when the survey was begun, to summarize their ideas about the political economy of their day, and to appraise them in relation to current mercantilist, physiocratic, and laissez-faire thought of the 1760's. A summary in 280 pages of the extensive *Memorials* is a tribute to the author's ability to sift the wheat from the chaff. After two chapters on the historical setting, the *Memorials* are analyzed in chapters on population, agriculture, industry, commerce, the role of money, taxation, and government and the economic system. Several chapters are much more inclusive than their titles suggest. There is occasional repetition, but the book is well written with useful summaries at the end of chapters.

Since the concern of the *parlement* was economic, the *Memorials* throw little light on constitutional questions or on social changes resulting from the unsuccessful war. The chapter on population is interesting, and one would like to know who transmitted a concern for population to the makers of the *cahiers de doléances* of 1789 from Provence? The last chapter contains some discussion of war and national policy. The footnote reference (p. 258, n. 37) for an arresting pacifist quotation should be corrected to read, XII, 887-888. Desire for reform of the guilds along the line actually taken by Turgot would seem to be stronger than Mr. Beik indicates. The *parlement* condemned certain taxes and was strongly opposed to tax-farming. Had their survey been made public, with all its tables, the *Compte-Rendu* of Necker appearing nearly twenty years later would not have been such an innovation. Although the *Memorials* were incomplete and failed to develop a program of reform, Mr. Beik has culled suggestions from chapters on

specific taxes. The sponsorship in the 1760's by nobles of the robe of the principle that "everyone should contribute to the needs of the state according to his ability to pay" (p. 279) presages the liberal action of June to August, 1789. Mr. Beik ended his able summary with the following conclusion, "From these opinions emerges a political economy, mercantilist in the main, but with unmistakable elements of laissez-faire thinking, the characteristic product of an age of transition" (p. 280).

Mr. Beik has rendered an important contribution to the history of economic problems and thought in the 1760's, but in the opinion of the reviewer, his most important services are in calling attention to the Seligman Collection and to these *Memorials*. He has discovered an almost inexhaustible field of research, and we may hope for further revelations from French archives.

Hunter College

BEATRICE F. HYSLOP

FROM DESPOTISM TO REVOLUTION, 1763-1789. By *Leo Gershoy*, Sarah Lawrence College. [The Rise of Modern Europe, edited by William L. Langer.] (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1944. Pp. xvi, 355. \$4.00.)

IN his introduction to the series the general editor, Professor William L. Langer, explains that these volumes "are designed primarily to give the general reader and student a reliable survey of European history written by experts . . . the division of European history into national histories has been abandoned and wherever possible attention has been focused upon larger forces common to the whole of European civilization." Here is a consummation devoutly to be wished, a synthesis of European history, assigning the proper emphasis to the developments in thought, in social and economic conditions, and in governmental institutions; but whether such a synthesis is possible except in theory is open to serious doubt. To this reviewer it would appear that the volumes so far published are much too advanced for the layman. Perhaps if the authors, nearly all of whom were fairly young when the enterprise was launched, had been less ambitious to be deep, penetrating, and philosophical, less adept in the use of abstract phraseology, in a word, less scholarly, their contributions would be more useful to the general reader and student.

In the volume under review Professor Gershoy maintains the high standard of scholarship set by his predecessors. He appears to have read and pondered over the recent contributions in all the major languages of Europe; he has arranged his material in what appears to be the logical order; and his literary style would seem to be above reproach, although he has a penchant for hard, colorless phrases like "mandates of security and power." He begins with a brief account of the rulers and the governments in 1763 and passes on, in his second chapter, to a description of the social classes. With these preliminaries out of the way, he addresses himself seriously to the business in hand, namely, a study of

the movement known as enlightened despotism on a European basis, as an integral part of the historical evolution of the Continent during the latter part of the eighteenth century. . . . It led from the Europe that had evolved out of feudalism to the Europe that was to attain parliamentary democracy in the nineteenth century.

He shows, if I follow aright the development of his theme, that enlightened despotism was not an innovation but a renovation, and that the evolutionary process was already under way before theorists appeared on the scene to justify it. Supremacy of the state; uniformity, and the consequent codification, of the law; the reform of the judiciary; centralization of the administration; the minimizing, if not the abolition, of privileges; and the development of an efficient bureaucracy—these were the fields in which enlightened despotism operated. To the survey and analysis of the renovations in these fields the author devotes fully half of his volume. Then follow chapters dealing with a variety of topics: “The Wellsprings of Humanitarianism”; “Tolerance and Education”; “Health, Wealth, and Happiness”; “The State and the Individual”; “The Flowering of Sensibility”; “Escape from Freedom—German Style”; “The Arts and Crafts”; “Faith, Hope, and Charity in Secular Dress”; and finally “Constitutional Liberalism Affirmed.” Such topics are of necessity, owing to the exigencies of space, treated in a summary manner; but the author succeeds, despite the handicap, in making the treatment clear, reasonably accurate, and adequately correlative to the main theme of enlightened despotism. Assuming that books of this particular nature are desirable, Professor Gershoy has written a good one. How pleasing would have been the result, however, had he contrived to introduce into his account a little more life, color, and human interest. The vast canvas is deficient in highlights and shadows.

Appended to each volume of the series is a select, critical, and up-to-date bibliography, which should afford great joy to the professional historian. Each volume also contains more than fifty illustrations selected from the mass of contemporary pictorial material. Here, in the reviewer’s opinion, a great opportunity to serve the cause of history has been neglected. How advantageous it would be to have this illustrative material appropriately distributed and properly correlated to the body of the text.

University of North Carolina

MITCHELL B. GARRETT

THE INFLUENCE OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT ON THE CATHOLIC THEORY OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN FRANCE, 1750-1850. By *Clarence Edward Elwell*, Professor of Education, Sisters College of Cleveland. [Harvard Studies in Education, Volume XXIX.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1944. Pp. x, 335. \$3.50.)

THE monopoly of education exercised by the Catholic church in France almost until the Revolution of 1789 makes a study of the changes its pedagogical theory and practice underwent through the impact of the rationalistic, naturalistic,

materialistic, empiristic, and nationalistic tendencies propagated by the Enlightenment a highly interesting topic. It is to be regretted that Professor Elwell limited the scope of his investigation to religious education proper, since, its basic principles being immutable, they scarcely allow of any but slight and superficial variations of nuances. Another limitation of his book consists in its almost exclusive consideration of primary education in the relevant epoch; only incidentally it refers to the higher levels, on which the rising tide of Cartesianism had as early as the second half of the seventeenth century begun, even in the ecclesiastical schools of Port-Royal and of the Oratory, to dethrone the method of authority on which the orthodox Catholic theory and practice of education reposed and to replace it by the "natural," that is, Cartesian method of clear and distinct knowledge. The teaching of mathematics, logic, and languages had, for instance, been completely reformed and modernized by the outstanding textbooks of Antoine Arnauld, Pierre Nicole, Lancelot, and other Jansenist educators, which remained in general use throughout the eighteenth and even a large part of the nineteenth centuries. Only the inertia essential to religious education procrastinated the necessary reforms of medieval teaching methods, and even when the revolutionary *élan* of Enlightenment compelled the church to yield on a few minor issues, the concessions it made were "too little and too late" to allow the church to maintain its leading position in the educational field.

The author, a convinced Catholic, has made a very thorough study of the doctrinal variations suffered by the principles basic to Catholic education in their defensive struggle against the onslaught of the new antidogmatic spirit represented by Voltaire, Rousseau, La Mettrie, Condillac, and other philosophers and educators. To this purpose he has painstakingly studied and analyzed an extensive selection of primary and secondary sources and documents, such as scores of diocesan and national catechisms, episcopal statutes and ordinances, didactical and apologetical treatises, whose tiring monotony and uniformity require meticulous attention in order to detect in them the microscopic traces which a century of involuntary adaptation to radically changed social, intellectual, and political conditions impressed on the theory and practice of the teaching of Catholic religion. A slightly increased influence of reason, the introduction of sentiment into the foundations of belief, a greater emphasis laid on moral education as compared with mere dogmatic instruction, a certain relaxation of originally very severe and authoritative discipline: these, as the author points out, were the main concessions the Catholic church gradually and reluctantly granted the impetuous and youthful claims of a new age and a new class which rose to dominate French civilization. The natural effect was that eventually religious education was proscribed from the publicly supported schools and that religion itself lost its pre-eminent function in a civilization with whose essential structure its educational principles proved to be out of tune.

New York City

PAUL SCHRECKER

THREE NAPOLEONIC BATTLES. By *Harold T. Parker*. (Durham: Duke University Press. 1944. Pp. xi, 225. \$3.00.)

It seems reasonably certain that naval and military history will receive more attention in postwar history teaching and history writing. Beginnings are being made at present in both the matter and the methodology in such places as the historical sections of the various services. But one can hardly hope that Mr. Parker's book is a forerunner of things to come. Most of its characteristics mark it as an after-runner, combining rather strangely the arts of the historical *feuilletonistes* with an overannotated narrative. A few examples: The not at all controversial or portentous statement that Wellington spent the night before Waterloo at Genappe is buttressed by six lines of citations. (But perhaps this is due to American difficulties of ascertaining whether George Washington "slept here" or not.) Napoleon on the following day, "short, fat, and optimistic, breakfasted at eight." However, "in the twilight, Napoleon was somber and absolutely livid" (pp. 135, 186). The emperor's weight and waistline from 1793 to 1815 concern the author far more than his strategy. His repeated attempts at character sketches of generals—while none is made of the rank and file—at descriptions of their morale, etc., are singularly poor even in the cases of such colorful personages as Blücher and Lannes, whose death is prolonged over some four pages and who is in life "the excitable Gascon, cool only in the moment of danger." What is that but the old-fashioned purple of Currier and Ives lithographs? Such style is by itself dangerous; the author of it is likely to make or to accept uncritically such dubious phrases as Napoleon's "fifteen miles gallop on this hot June day" (p. 12) or to forget that on one page the passage across the Alle is made over a frame bridge plus two pontoon bridges, on another page over frame bridges which subsequently catch fire (pp. 6, 21).

The author's best performance is in the clearing up of minor discrepancies between eyewitness reports about events on the battlefields. Throughout, the accent is on the tactical details which these witnesses contribute to the treatment of the three battles in question—Friedland, Aspern-Essling, and Waterloo. It is said to be based on "all kinds of sources available for a Napoleonic battle," but these by no means include all the best; as for Friedland, for example, where Russian sources are notoriously scanty, the *Memoirs* of Prince Eugene of Württemberg are wanting. While eyewitness reports are preponderant, the great critics of the battles, except the emperor himself, are strangely absent, such as Jomini, Clausewitz with his *Campaign of 1815*, or Count Yorck von Wartenburg's *Napoleon als Feldherr*. Napoleon's adversary at Aspern, Archduke Charles, was after all a theoretician of some consequence; but his writings do not appear. And still he is an important part of the history of this battle. For did not Napoleon himself insist that "the main thing is to know against whom one makes war"? In military history, for reasons too complex to state here, such critics, interpreters, and theoreticians are likely to be far more helpful, or even basically important,

by comparison than in all other fields of historiography where the so-called original sources count for more.

Sherman, Connecticut

ALFRED VAGTS

JULES FERRY AND THE RENAISSANCE OF FRENCH IMPERIALISM.

By *Thomas F. Power, jr.* (New York: King's Crown Press. 1944. Pp. x, 222. \$2.75.)

THE role of Jules Ferry as the political force in the new era of France overseas is presented in scholarly manner by Thomas F. Power, jr., in *Jules Ferry and the Renaissance of French Imperialism*. This well-documented study is a welcome addition to the books in English on nineteenth century France.

After describing the situation in France at the time Ferry became premier in 1880, the author follows with chapters on Tunisia, Oceania, West Africa, Equatorial Africa, Egypt, and Indo-China.

Jules Ferry was anticlerical, as were so many of the republican leaders of the 70's and 80's. He was a professional politician, among those from journalism, including Grevy, Gambetta, Brisson, and Floquet. Others prominent at this time included the rich manufacturers Casimir-Perier, Rouvier, and Waddington; two teachers, Dupuy and Simon; two engineers, Freycinet and Sadi-Carnot; and the doctor-journalist Clemenceau.

It was a period when the people, the "masses," were becoming articulate. Republican France in 1881, under the direction of Ferry and Gambetta, extended and consolidated primary and normal schools under state control.

It was a period of dynamic national imperialism. Between 1881 and 1885 Ferry defended his policies in the chamber of deputies. Mr. Powers describes how he reiterated all the clichés of those seeking overseas possessions. Trade and capital must follow the flag. The "superior" nations must "civilize" the "inferior" races. Industrial nations must acquire markets. Navies and merchant marines must have coaling stations. And any nation as great as France which refused to carry her flag to distant ports would sink to the level of a third rate power.

It was a period of fertile interest of all the powers in colonial development. The "Colonial School" was created in Berlin in 1882. In the same year Leroy-Beaulieu published a new edition of his standard book on colonies, containing the warning that France would decline to the status of a Greece or a Rumania if a great African empire were not established. Professor John Seeley of Cambridge University published his famous lectures on the *Expansion of England* in 1883. The Tory Democrats founded their "Primrose League" for the encouragement of imperialism, and its counterpart appeared in Berlin, the "Society for German Colonization." Scholarly contributions in the field of imperialism included Froude's *Oceana* (1885) and Rambaud's editing of *La France coloniale* (1886). With this in mind it is possible to appreciate the interest of France in keeping abreast of England and Germany, a theme which Mr. Powers clearly delineates.

The reviewer is delighted to see this book appear without a cloth cover, as the French have done for years, a practice which reduces costs at least one third. Let us hope that other important studies follow the same inexpensive format.

West Virginia University

THOMAS E. ENNIS

BRITISH COLONIAL THEORIES, 1570–1850. By *Klaus E. Knorr*, Stanford University, California. With a Foreword by H. A. Innis. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1944. Pp. xix, 429. \$4.00.)

THIS is the most comprehensive work that has appeared on the subject of opinion, argument, and theory concerning the establishment and maintenance of British colonies. Written originally as a doctoral dissertation under the supervision of Professor Jacob Viner, it is essentially a study of ideas as expressed in pamphlets, treatises, speeches, reports of committees, etc., though monographic and other secondary historical literature has not been neglected. A glance through the footnotes shows how extensive Dr. Knorr's researches have been. There is no formal bibliography, but a special index, which serves as a not very satisfactory substitute, includes the names of the authors of all books and articles cited in the text and footnotes and the titles of books and periodicals where the writing referred to is anonymous. We had not lacked valuable historical expositions in the field of British colonial policy and theory. George Louis Beer, to take a conspicuous example, in his pioneer treatises published a generation ago, taught us much about the rationale of the old colonial system, but he was not concerned—not, at least, as a historian—with the British Empire after the American Revolution. The present survey extends, as the terminal dates in the title indicate, from the mid-Elizabethan to the mid-Victorian era.

The author's purpose was to select statements from his sources representative of important currents of thought, and to this end he has presented the opinions and arguments of less well-known writers and politicians as well as those of their more celebrated contemporaries, since he regards the former as usually more typical than the latter. He gives adequate attention throughout to anti-imperial thought. Constant verbatim quotation from sources adds greatly to the value of the book. Conclusions have been drawn circumspectly and judiciously, and pains have been taken to avoid generalizations not supported by sufficient evidence.

The views and theories of colonial writers and politicians are not included. There is no discussion, therefore, of the very interesting imperial ideas of American Revolutionists, such as John Dickinson, James Wilson, and Thomas Jefferson, expressed while they were still discoursing and arguing as British subjects. Nor is anything said about the proposals of colonial reformers who, like Robert Baldwin, Joseph Howe, and William Charles Wentworth, were at the same time British colonists. Considerable attention is given to the theory of imperial trusteeship and the White Man's Burden, but, strangely enough, the movement for responsible government in colonies receives no consideration. Lord Durham ap-

pears only in connection with emigration and Wakefield's plan of systematic colonization, and even then only in the most casual fashion.

The first of the two parts into which the book is divided has to do with imperialist and anti-imperialist ideology before 1776. The arguments are arranged under headings such as "Colonies as Sources of Raw Materials," "Colonies as Markets," "Strategic and Naval Considerations," "Anti-Colonial Arguments, Misgivings, and Deprecations." The conclusion reached is that prior to the American Revolution "the overwhelming bulk of metropolitan opinion upheld the Old Colonial System" (p. 134). Such anti-imperialist sentiment as there was emanated from "a very small minority of men who had no stake in the profits of Empire but subscribed to more advanced ideas on the nature of the public good than their contemporaries" (p. 149).

The second and considerably longer part of the volume opens with an examination of Adam Smith's attack on mercantilism and the old colonial system. In view of the efforts of certain modern British imperialist writers to show that Smith was opposed to the separation of the colonies from the mother country, Dr. Knorr's critical study of Smith's own words is distinctly refreshing. It is true, and well known, that the author of *The Wealth of Nations* was convinced that no British government would voluntarily adopt a separatist policy and that he proposed a plan of imperial reform as a substitute for separation, but it is fallacious to reason from this, as Dr. Knorr demonstrates, that he was opposed to separation. He believed that it was impracticable, not that it was undesirable. Adam Smith was not sanguine of the triumph of the economic principles which he advocated, and the old colonial system, as is well known, was a long time a-dying. The end did not come till Britain's free-trade legislation of the middle decades of the nineteenth century swept away the old navigation laws and the old imperial commercial preferences, a subject which comes under consideration in a chapter on the fall of the old colonial system.

In summarizing colonial theories from 1776 to 1815 the author concludes that the theorists and politicians who questioned or denied the usefulness of colonies to the mother country were much more articulate than their opponents but that they had little influence on political action. During this period, indeed, a second British Empire was coming into existence with the rapid expansion of British rule in India, the colonization of Australia, and the acquisition of Cape Colony and other colonial possessions in the Napoleonic wars; and the belief that Britain was suffering from excess of population gave to colonies a new value in the minds of many Englishmen. Among the subjects dealt with in other chapters are the colonial and imperial ideas of Bentham, James Mill, and Ricardo; emigration and systematic colonization; the expenses of empire; the pride and prestige of empire; missionary imperialism and the White Man's Burden.

An occasional intrusion of present-mindedness does not harmonize with Dr. Knorr's evident desire, in the main successfully accomplished, to be objective and

judicious. It would be better, I fancy, not to describe objections to the export of bullion which were characteristic of mercantilist thought as "inane" (p. 89), or to speak of mercantilist theories of value as "exceedingly befuddled" (p. 97), and the "incredible unimaginativeness of metropolitan thinking" (p. 134) in the days of George III and Lord North was really not so incredible if viewed in its historical context.

But these and a few other critical comments that might be offered are no more than dust in the balance when weighed against the substantial merits of this very useful book.

Columbia University

ROBERT LIVINGSTON SCHUYLER

NASSAU W. SENIOR: THE PROPHET OF MODERN CAPITALISM. By S. Leon Levy. (Boston: Bruce Humphries. 1943. Pp. 454. \$4.00.)

S. LEON Levy is a devoted editor and as faithful a biographer as any man might wish; but one is forced to report that the subject of his adoration must remain where history has consigned him. Nassau W. Senior is no "Prophet of Modern Capitalism," as Mr. Levy holds; indeed, the subtitle must have been an afterthought, for nowhere in his book does the author seek to indicate what he had in mind. Senior was an exemplar of the Victorian compromise: a conscientious and righteous spokesman for and defender of the middle-class England which Liberal capitalism was then in the process of building. He moved through his days with dignity and certainty; he was consulted often by persons in high places, and editors anxiously awaited his pronouncements; his private journals—concerned with his travels and conversations in Turkey, Greece, Ireland, France, Italy, and elsewhere—were handed about eagerly. To his contemporaries, he was the "Tutor-General" of the Liberals; yet his interests impress us, a hundred years later, as being woefully circumscribed, and the paucity of the achievement of a long and busy life is a matter for ironical contemplation.

Mr. Levy's labors as editor and biographer have been heroic. In 1928 he published in two volumes a skilfully contrived work, under the title *Industrial Efficiency and Social Economy*, which was made up of Senior's unpublished later Oxford lectures and his addresses, reports, pamphlets, letters, and other writings. It was the intention of this book to demonstrate that Senior was more than a lesser Ricardian; in fact, more than a classical economist. The Newtonian harmony, the mechanical perfection of the awful and awe-inspiring deductive logic—these were gone; in their place was a tentative and experimental scientific method. Senior followed Ricardo and preceded Jevons.

Perhaps so. But Mr. Levy's biography—a fascinating book, by the way, full of those little details of daily living that make a good biography a really first-class performance—does not prove the point. As a politician, a publicist, a lawyer, and a traveler, Senior's activities were prodigious. He was interested in the debate

on factory legislation, technical legal questions, poor-law reform, the Irish church, the Oxford Movement, money and banking, foreign relations, the novelists Scott and Thackeray; and he wrote on all these themes in government reports, pamphlets, articles for the *Edinburgh Review* and the *Quarterly Review* and for the lesser journals and the daily press. Pleading with the editor of the *Edinburgh Review* that he was a slow writer and could give only two hours to his desk daily, in less than a month he could turn out a 30,000 word article on the budget!

How can one account for such energy and such security? One offers the suggestion that it was exactly because Senior was still the Newtonian: the general principles of his intellectual life were so firmly fixed, their application flowed so logically from the all-encompassing grand design, that hesitations and doubts never had cause to enter his secure world. Carlyle was troubled by many unanswered questions; so was the later Mill. Not so Senior. Bagehot said about an article Senior wrote on Ireland: "In truth, the essay is too abstract for a work on a living subject like Ireland. You always feel that you are reading about an economical island in the air." In the light of all that has occurred since, what Senior had to say about factory legislation, the poor laws, trade unions, and many of the other public questions he wrote of so authoritatively carries the same air of unreality.

Mr. Levy has written an excellent book and it deserves wide reading. It is lacking in independent judgments; but, it must be said, it is scrupulously fair, and the unfriendly remarks of Senior's contemporaries are recorded along with the fulsome praise.

Columbia University

LOUIS M. HACKER

THE TARIFF PROBLEM IN GREAT BRITAIN, 1918-1923. By *Rixford Kinney Snyder*. [Stanford University Publication, University Series; History, Economics, and Political Science, Volume V, Number 2.] (Stanford University: Stanford University Press. 1944. Pp. 168. Cloth \$2.75, paper \$2.00.)

DR. Snyder reviews the various plans for revising the British tariff system discussed or adopted in the years 1918-1923; and he summarizes the debates on this issue both in and outside of Parliament. The overall picture is one of confusion, hesitancy, and muddling. The election of 1918 gave the Conservatives a majority in the House of Commons. Since 1910 this party had been committed to a policy of tariff reform but it had neither a definite program nor competent leadership. The prime minister, Mr. David Lloyd George, and his Liberal supporters in the then existing coalition were free traders, pledged, however, to make "England a country fit for heroes to live in." This sweeping electioneering promise proved difficult to fulfill amidst the mounting economic confusion and depression of the early twenties.

Although Dr. Snyder appears to sympathize with the free traders, he presents fairly the arguments of the tariff reformers; and his précis of newspaper and parliamentary debates are excellent. Nevertheless his general picture is out of focus because he fails to portray Britain's domestic economic and financial situation as well as the intra-imperial and foreign relations which made the tariff issue so important and its solution so difficult. For instance, the British agricultural tariff program of 1921 was changed suddenly in a way that appears almost stupid; if in this connection Dr. Snyder had called attention to the collapse of world prices on farm products at this time, attributable to credit policies of our own Federal Reserve Bank, the British action would appear more rational.

The scholarship of this little book is excellent. Among the few slips, that whereby William Huskisson has been rebaptized "John" (p. 3) is the most obvious, and of typographical errors, that which makes it seem as if the Parliament elected in December, 1923, met on November 23 of that year (p. 127) with Bonar Law serving as prime minister six months after his death may confuse the unwary.

University of Wisconsin

PAUL KNAPLUND

THE JEWS IN RUSSIA. Volume I, THE STRUGGLE FOR EMANCIPATION. By *Louis Greenberg*. [Yale Historical Publications, Leonard Woods Labaree, Editor, Miscellany, XLV.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1944. Pp. ix, 210. \$3.00.)

THE appearance of this volume in the present state of world Jewish history is most opportune. It is the first of a three volume series dealing with the struggle of the Jews in Russia for civic equality and political freedom up to the end of the reign of Alexander II. Embodying material widely scattered, it constitutes an essential contribution to the study of modern Russian social history. It focuses a strong spotlight on facts generally minimized or treated as incidental to the main story; it serves to supplement the accounts of such works as those of Mavor, Pares, Platonov, Kornilov, etc. The author's work is largely descriptive, non-polemical in tone, written with admirable restraint and word economy, based on sources in German, Russian, Yiddish, Hebrew, and English.

If any basic tenet can be ascribed to Rabbi Greenberg, it is that the condition, status, and treatment of the Jews (as a minority element) are a measure of the culture and civilization of the country they inhabit. In his appraisal, he is accordingly concerned with Russian official and public attitudes toward the Jewish people as well as with efforts on their own part to improve their condition. The latter consideration leads him to devote the greater part of his work to the origins, development, and progress of the Haskalah, a movement traceable to the intellectual ferment of the French Enlightenment. The Haskalah sought to improve the cul-

tural and educational position of the Jews by the pursuit and cultivation of secular studies. However desirable this might seem to the *maskilim*, or followers of this movement, it was opposed nevertheless, as Rabbi Greenberg points out, by the innate conservatism of the orthodox Jews; by those whose suspicions were aroused concerning the *maskilim's* intent to change the traditional system of education; by the reaction of orthodox Jews to Christian conversions (attributed by the orthodox to the influence of the Haskalah); and it ran afoul of Russian public apathy as well as official indifference, often changing to hostility.

Inasmuch as Jewish efforts alone could never hope to achieve emancipation without help from the constituted authorities, the Russian intelligentsia, and the Russian public, Rabbi Greenberg describes the evolution of the policies of the tsars from Alexander I to Alexander II. The greater part of the work is devoted, however, to Alexander II, whose reign ushered in a period of hope never completely realized. In consequence the Jews of Russia were divided as to the best way to achieve the civic status they desired. The participation of Jews in the social revolutionary movements of the 1860's and 1870's, the development of Jewish "nationalism," the advocacy of the merging of the Jewish and Russian elements to the point of assimilation, all these are symptomatic of the division of thought on this vital question. Against the orthodox were ranged the opponents of the spiritual and cultural separatism, which they believed stood in the way of Russification, and advised like the poet Gordon, "Be a Jew in your tent, and a man in the street." The nationalists held with Goldendach (p. 137) that a Jew deprived of his homeland does not lose his national character; and the revolutionists merely served to "complicate the Jewish situation and add another vexing problem to those already in existence" (p. 159).

There are excellent chapters on the "Cultural and Moral Status of Russian Jewry," "Jews and Russian Public Opinion," "Contribution of Russian Jews to Russian Life and Culture," and the "Economic Position of the Jews in the Reign of Alexander II." Rabbi Greenberg, in his discussion of the problem of alcoholism in Russia in the last named chapter, brings up a question of profound sociological importance, but stops short of providing answers to questions which insistently obtrude. He says that a "government committee, appointed by Alexander II in 1870 to study rural economy, reported that complaints about drunkenness among the peasants came primarily from the Great Russian provinces, fewer from the Ukraine and New Russia, and almost none from the western and Baltic provinces. Since the lowest degree of intoxication existed in Jewish areas and the highest in non-Jewish regions, it follows that it was not the Jew who was responsible for this evil" (p. 170). And further on he says, "Not only do figures prove less drunkenness among the Russian masses living in the proximity of Jews, but they indicate less crime as well" (p. 171). What is the nature of the influence exerted by the Jews on their Christian neighbors to achieve this result? And what moral element on the other hand was lacking in the purely Russian regions which led

to a preponderance of drunkenness and other crimes? Statistics here merely demonstrate a condition; they do not explain it.

There is an excellent bibliography and index.

Hunter College

GEORGE WASKOVICH

REVOLUTIONS IN RUSSIA: THEIR LESSONS FOR THE WESTERN WORLD. By G. R. Treviranus. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1944. Pp. viii, 303. \$3.00.)

ONE must dig deep wells to get to a source in the Russian past that might explain the causes of the Russian revolutions. The revolutionary spirit of any country, and particularly of Russia, can be understood only in the light of several centuries of social development and economic struggle. How little this simple truth has been apprehended or adequately presented in historical literature! We have mountains of books and articles on the subject, but hardly any of them is deeply rooted in the soil of Russia's history; they are mostly the results of a four-week travel or journalistic sojourn, sudden discoveries of "the great Russian soul" or of "the valorous, magnificent Red Army."

G. R. Treviranus, a former member of the *Reichstag* and of the Bruening Cabinet, at present an *émigré*, lecturer on German-Russian affairs, and farmer in Ontario, was inspired by his inquisitive sons and friends to write a book which would present to the Western world (no more no less!) the lessons it must learn from the Russian revolutions. And so, from words to deeds, and before us is the fruit of the author's labor. What is this fruit? What does it prove? It is a lesson to the Western world—and how many lessons do we need?—that it is difficult to explain such a complicated subject without either love or sympathy, to say nothing of erudition and linguistic equipment. The undertaking is therefore gigantic, but the results are puny.

To begin with, the entire book hardly scrapes the surface of the problem; it deals with the period between 1917 and the present, and makes only casual reference to the revolution of 1905. Where then are the "Revolutions"? In vain must one search through the book—the title of which is so promising—for such important historical episodes as the Time of Troubles, for the numerous peasant uprisings and labor unrest, or for the colorful rebel leaders such as Bolotnikov, Stenka Razin, or Pugachev. The latter two are mentioned once in the most casual way, while Bolotnikov does not even appear. The lessons of Russia's revolutions to the Western world, purported to be shown by the author, simply are not there. Lenin, the author says, "came single-handed, unarmed with any weapons," etc., and so did Christ, both defying a hostile and unjust world. Both brought to the world a gospel for which "millions have died before their time to defend human faith that it will be true—one day." If this is the lesson the revolutions of Russia have given the world, was it necessary to write a whole book on the sub-

ject? The thesis is not original, nor has the author succeeded in elucidating it more than others have done before him. Furthermore he adds a peculiarly German flavor to his interpretation of Russia. Why, for instance, was Russia to constitute, from the Crimean War to the present, a "Pan-European problem of the first order"? The author's answer is that it is because the United Slavs desire Constantinople! Who are those so-called "United Slavs"? Do they include the Poles, the Czechs, the Bulgarians, or the Croats? And, incidentally, has Mr. Treviranus ever heard of the Berlin-Bagdad Railway project, or of the Pan-German movement with a few of its offshoots in our own day which landed him on the Ontario farm?

The author's appalling lack of knowledge of the Russian language is best illustrated by his mutilations of Russian names. Never has the reviewer seen a book with so many errors. To cite only a few examples: Georg Chicherin is Vassili Chicherin, Petrashevsky becomes Petrasky, Badmayev is given as Badjamev, Yagoda as Yakoda, Tshkheidze as Cheidze, Bulygin as Buygin, etc. It is a welter of names, mutilated beyond recognition. How such a respectable publishing house could allow the appearance of such a poorly edited book is difficult to understand. The cry for at least an elementary knowledge of the Russian language is louder than ever, while the thirst for a comprehension of the lessons of the Russian revolutions still remains unsatiated.

University of Nevada

ANATOLE G. MAZOUR

PRELUDE TO SILENCE: THE END OF THE GERMAN REPUBLIC. By Arnold Brecht. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1944. Pp. xxi, 156. \$2.00.)

THIS is a remarkable book, written by a distinguished lawyer with a good instinct for history, one who could say with the Latin author when speaking of contemporary events, "*Quorum pars magna fui.*" Dr. Brecht was present at almost all cabinet meetings during the crucial years of the Weimar Republic. He was given charge of constitutional and administrative questions in the Reich ministry of the interior. In 1927 he was removed from office at the request of the reactionary nationalist party leader, Dr. Karl Hugenberg, was then taken up by the loyal Prussian administration, which he had to represent in the federal council (*Reichsrat*), and finally was dismissed by the Hitler regime as a politically "unreliable" civil servant. Being a so-called Aryan, although related to distinguished Jewish people, he left Germany and joined the graduate faculty of the New School in New York but was one of the very few victims of National Socialism who continued to visit the fatherland until the summer of 1939. Thus Dr. Brecht may be considered unique in knowledge and personal experience. His book is a most valuable contribution to the history of our time. It avoids any personal touch, any emotional attitude; it cannot be regarded as a volume of memoirs. But it is full of new colorful details, it combines individual impressions with historical facts, and it is

inspired by the careful judgment of a highly conscientious jurist. Just because of its cool reserve and strict fairness the book is strong. It will support the verdict of history. Dr. Brecht has also translated some important sources which are not very well known even to the American expert. His critical commentary on them in the appendixes will be highly appreciated.

Some special points may strike the reader. Germany and the Germans never were "totalitarian" before Hitler came to power. Evidence is given by the exact figures of the former elections. Neither revolutionary nor reactionary forces were powerful enough to take over the government, but they were able to prevent the loyal adherents of the Weimar Republic from ruling the country properly and successfully. It would have been a possible solution for the Weimar people to crush their political enemies by violence, to destroy without pity the reactionary as well as the communistic opposition, but such a dictatorial attitude would have presupposed a democratic leader of overwhelming personal strength, and such a man did not exist.

We must be grateful to Dr. Brecht for telling us exactly what he means when he speaks about Fascism. Other authors should follow his example. The anti-democratic wave arose in Germany for concrete political, social, and economic reasons, but there was a good deal of opposition to it. Dr. Brecht, like many other faithful democrats, warned in time—but the Fascist movement in Germany conquered the hearts of the electors. It never reached a majority in parliament, but its adherents constituted such a strong minority that the National Socialist party quite legally, step by step, grew to be the largest existing party and thus came to power. It should not be forgotten that Hitler, when taking over the chancellorship, formed a coalition cabinet with a minority of National Socialist ministers. His trick was to preserve "technical legality," to blackmail all authorities by the threat of revolutionary acts, and thus to persuade hesitating civil servants to follow suit in order to avoid "worse" events. Very bravely, Dr. Brecht, as the speaker of the federal council, asked Chancellor Hitler to respect his oath and to avoid any violation of the Weimar constitution. This speech is a historical document of straightforward German liberalism, reason enough to break the neck of the bold orator.

Very soon after this classic speech, two decisive acts violated even the written law. These were the renewed dismissal of the Prussian cabinet ministers by order, on February 6, and the dissolution of all political parties except the National Socialist party, on July 14, 1933. Dr. Brecht does his very best to analyze carefully all German events during this initial period of the Hitler regime from the strict standpoint of existing positive law, according to the opinion of the majority of experts. But the author is not hiding his personal conviction that there does exist something above law, something natural and eternal which would have justified, even from the standpoint of a progressive lawyer, any kind of violent action of the Germans against Nazi tyranny.

If any group should need a jurist in the near future to draw an indictment of Hitler for breach of the constitution, the right person would be Dr. Brecht.

Library of Congress

VEIT VALENTIN

THE VOICE OF NORWAY. By *Halvdan Koht* and *Sigmund Skard*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1944. Pp. x, 313. \$3.50.)

THIS book by two top-ranking Norwegian scholars fills a longfelt need, for it provides in good readable English an orientation into Norwegian history and literature. Written in two parts, *The Voice of Norway* interprets the spirit of modern Norway—that Norway which has so firmly resisted the Nazi oppressor.

"With law shall we build our land, not with lawlessness lay it waste." With this introduction to Norway's ancient code of laws, Professor Koht introduces his part of the book, which he has titled "Free Men Build Their Society." And this ideal of freedom under law becomes the theme of the book. We see in steady development, from the early founding of the kingdom, the ever-growing system of laws which not only gave every citizen certain rights but also imposed upon him certain responsibilities.

In three most interesting and enlightening chapters, "The Crisis of National Freedom," "Free Burghers and Free Farmers," and "Rising for Freedom," Dr. Koht sketches what is often referred to as the dark years of Norwegian history when, in spite of centuries of foreign domination, the nation preserved its legal existence as a kingdom and its national traditions of freedom and law.

The last quarter of this section of the book is devoted to telling of a society ever striving toward a truer democracy. Carried to its logical conclusion, this ideal of liberty under law has resulted in an insistence on the ideal of justice, not only for themselves but for all men. Dr. Koht ends his part of *The Voice of Norway* with these words:

The terrible experience of foreign conquest and tyranny has not destroyed the Norwegian ideals of law and freedom. On the contrary, the nation is more determined than ever to carry these ideals to victory. No less than in the past, Norway will in the future support international organization under law. In this, she sees the only hope for her freedom and that of all other nations.

Dr. Skard, who is not only an able literary scholar, but also a fine and sensitive poet, gives us in the second part of the book, "Life Unfolds in Literature," an unusually stimulating interpretation of Norwegian literature. He also has chosen to approach the study from the point of view of freedom and law—to show how literature reflects their interplay, as man tries to balance the ideals of personal liberty with the ideals of duties and responsibilities to society. In the Eddic poems we see the people of the past who "belong to a group and act under law." We follow the development of poetry as exemplified in the work of the skaldic poets

surrounding the kings, and of history and saga in the life and work of the historian and chieftain, Snorri Sturluson. We note impulses from the outside world as they fuse with the traditional, culminating in the thirteenth century in *The King's Mirror*, expression of the new culture which was developing in the north. We are carried along as "The Stream Goes Underground," and see how certain traditional forces are kept alive in the folk art, the folk songs, and the folk tales. There follow chapters devoted to the great liberators of thought and ideas, Ludvig Holberg, Henrik Wergeland, Henrik Ibsen, and Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson. In the final chapter, "The Hour of Trial," Dr. Skard shows how much a part of the life of the nation her literature is. Perhaps never in Norway's history has there been such a general return to the classics. The old songs of Wergeland and Bjørnson, the expressions of a free people, have found new meaning in this time of oppression. At the same time, there has been a steady production of both poetry and prose, but the chief expression of the spirit of survival is to be found in the Norwegian war poetry, notably in the lyrics of Arnulf Øverland and Nordahl Grieg.

For the English-reading public, *The Voice of Norway* is a truly scholarly, and at the same time readable, introduction to Norwegian history and literature.

University of Minnesota

ELLA VALBORG RØLVAAG

Far Eastern History

THE INDIAN PROBLEM: REPORT ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEM IN INDIA. By *R. Coupland*, Fellow of All Souls College and of Nuffield College, Beit Professor of Colonial History in the University of Oxford. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1944. Pp. 160, 344, 207. \$5.00.)

THIS excellent study of the constitutional problem of present-day India is cast in the form of a report by Mr. Coupland to the warden and fellows of Nuffield College; and no official report could be more tranquil in tone or more impartial in judgment. Yet Mr. Coupland's approach is staunchly liberal. Much of his material was collected during a visit to India in 1941-42, and his book contains a wealth of information on recent Indian politics to which a brief review cannot possibly do justice.

The book is divided into three parts. The first traces the installments of self-government accorded to India by England from their faint foreshadowings in the nineteenth century to the passage of the Act of 1935. This act, Mr. Coupland believes, clearly implied that India might quickly achieve a freedom equal to that of other members of the British Commonwealth.

The second and longest portion of the book follows events and politics in India from 1935 to the end of 1942. The period began with the experiment of

fully responsible government in the provinces. This is described in some very interesting chapters and, on the whole, may be termed a success. But problems multiplied. The Congress sought to control and absorb other groups in one totalitarian party. The Moslems reacted violently and developed their own policy of Pakistan. Thus the prospect of freedom produced a tragic struggle for power between India's two greatest communities. The war brought grim events: a Congress demand for immediate independence, Mr. Gandhi's rebellion while Japanese armies were on the eastern frontier, the failure of the mission of Sir Stafford Cripps.

Mr. Coupland seeks a solution in the final portion of his book. Sir Stafford Cripps had offered full Dominion status following the war, with liberty to secede from the Commonwealth, and Mr. Coupland believes that that offer will stand. Hence the problem becomes one of Indian agreement upon a constitution of India's own making. To facilitate such an agreement, Mr. Coupland outlines what he considers a possible settlement. Two points may be selected for mention. He assumes that provincial autonomy will continue, and the problem is to insure minority participation in provincial government. These governments, he thinks, should be statutory coalitions and should be free from continuous control by the legislatures. He abhors partition in any form. To avoid it he suggests a compromise by which the provinces and native states would group themselves into a number of regions which, constitutionally, would stand between the provinces and the central government. He advocates four such regions (the River Basins Scheme) of which two would be predominantly Hindu in population and two Moslem. Such an arrangement, he admits, would weaken the center but would be far preferable to the Balkanization of all India.

This wise and realistic book might well be read with care both in India and in England; and also, incidentally, in the United States.

University of Minnesota

DAVID HARRIS WILLSON

CHIANG KAI-SHEK: ASIA'S MAN OF DESTINY. By *H. H. Chang*. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 1944. Pp. xv, 357. \$3.50.)

THE author states that he wrote the biography of Chiang Kai-shek in response to insistent demands when he came to America to explain China, its people, and its leader. He hesitated because he was far from Chinese sources, a fact which may account for the omission of a bibliography. The book is more his personal opinion of Chiang and recent history than a critical study. Certain facts need to be checked with more scientific material as, for example, those concerning agriculture and landholding. When a complete biography of Chiang can be written this book will serve as a valuable source, not only for the author's own opinion but for that of the official group of China during the war.

The first chapters are illuminating in their presentation of forces which molded Chiang's character. His home was one of Confucian filial piety and strict discipline. In his adolescent years the two greatest influences on him were a military hero, Yo Fei, and the Chinese military classic, *Art of War*.

Mr. Chang is on the whole laudatory of Chiang Kai-shek, at times even giving him undue credit. "By the sheer exertion of a single person [Chiang] China has become a new entity. . . . He has changed the entire course of Chinese history" (p. 152). Surely Sun Yat-sen, father of the revolution and author of the *Three Principles*, cannot be thus brushed aside.

He contends, however, that Chiang is loyal to the three principles. Nationalism, the first principle, interpreted by both the leaders as freedom from foreign control, was achieved, he states, when Great Britain and the United States signed new treaties (1943) relinquishing extra-territorial rights. On the subject of the treaties Mr. Chang has incorporated an unfortunate chapter "The Legacy of Inequality," in which he puts upon the foreign nations the entire blame for the treaties as well as for all the ills of modern China. Historians will grant that the treaties took certain sovereign powers from China but will not exonerate the Chinese Republic and the Manchu dynasty for their own shortcomings. Again, in later chapters, in discussing the civilization of China and her future role Mr. Chang follows the same traditional point of view. China is pictured as a nation habitually united, peace loving, and nonimperialistic. On the contrary her history is filled with warfare from the time of the "warring states" of the Chou dynasty and with wars of conquest, far and wide, during the Han, T'ang, and Manchu dynasties. For the general reader this point of view leads only to later disillusionment.

Democracy in China (the second principle) and Chiang's attitude toward it are matters over which, the author declares, the United States is concerned. In answer to such fears he presents various views, foreign and Chinese. He himself thinks that Chiang will fulfill the promise to grant a constitutional government one year after the end of the war. However he acknowledges that the government today is frankly a one party affair and that Chiang Kai-shek believes that the party is above everything (p. 181). The author sees in the party a lack of democracy, for example, in the practice of "appointment from above" instead of "election from below" (pp. 317-19). He apparently sympathizes with Chiang's continued intransigent attitude toward the Communists.

The book is pertinent coming at a time when China is being counted as one of the "Big Four" and when Americans want to know the strengths and weaknesses of the country and its leader. It is written for the popular reader, but it should be read against a historical background in order to separate valuable information from traditional interpretations.

Mount Vernon Junior College

MARY A. NOURSE

TRAVELER FROM TOKYO. By *John Morris*. Foreword by Joseph C. Grew, U. S. Ambassador to Japan, 1932-1942. (New York: Sheridan House. 1944. Pp. 253. \$2.75.)

DISASTER will follow any attempt to discredit the Japanese emperor. Rather the United Nations must convince the people of Japan that their ruler was led astray by the military. Unless we provide the Japanese with release from economic pressure, they will once again produce guns instead of butter. This, briefly, is the peace plan for Japan suggested by John Morris, an Englishman who left India after fifteen years of service to become a technical adviser to the Tokyo foreign office and a teacher in Japanese universities.

Mr. Morris arrived in Japan in fateful 1938, one year after the undeclared war began in China. He remained in Tokyo until the summer of 1942 when he was repatriated. Because of his official position, he was one of the few Britons or Americans not jailed or lodged in a concentration camp after Pearl Harbor.

The author tells how he mingled with the crowds on the Ginza, Tokyo's main shopping street, that Saturday noon when the Doolittle raiders were overhead. "There was not the slightest panic," Mr. Morris reports, but adds that he "heard people starting to criticize the army for having misled them."

Mr. Morris writes enlighteningly of Japanese ways of life, of education, the army, and national thought. He is sympathetic but realistic. He found the Japanese idea of discipline based on fear, with the soldier taught to obey, not to think. He saw recruits knocked unconscious by noncommissioned officers, but watched while private soldiers remained seated in buses and generals stood.

An acquaintance told Mr. Morris that in Japanese eyes the world was divided into enemies, neutral enemies, and friendly enemies. Germany was in the latter category and would have been attacked by the Japanese were the United Nations defeated in Europe.

The author is emphatic that there is not the remotest chance of the Japanese army cracking. It will fight to the death. While he is confident that we can eventually destroy it, he deplors anything but a proper realization of the toughness of our job. Important to us as we near a landing on the Japanese home islands is Mr. Morris' warning that the famed Kwantung army might hold out in Manchuria even after the Tokyo government acknowledged defeat.

Traveler from Tokyo deserves wide reading. It is a helpful manual during war and will be equally helpful in preparing our minds for the peace we will make in Asia.

Ambassador Joseph C. Grew wrote the foreword. I agree with him that this is a "good" book. It is factual, not emotional, and it is entertaining reading as well.

New York City

JOHN GOETTE

American History

ALBUM OF AMERICAN HISTORY: COLONIAL PERIOD. By *James Truslow Adams*, Editor-in-Chief; *R. V. Coleman*, Managing Editor; *W. J. Burke*, Associate Editor; *Atkinson Dymock*, Art Director. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1944. Pp. xiii, 411. \$7.50.)

"How did our forefathers dress; what sort of tools or utensils did they use, in what kinds of occupations; what did their houses look like, inside and out; in a word, if we could step into their world, what would we see?"

"No amount of verbal description, however accurate or vivid, can make us visualize the life of the past as can pictures of that life. But the pictures must be authentic; they must be the delineation of that life as seen by those who lived within it, not the interpretation of those who lived long afterward and could only see the earlier life through the spectacles of their own times."

This, in the words of the book itself (p. v), is the ideal and the objective of this book. Oh, that the achievement might be called as laudable as the desire!

The book has a certain organization. It has ten chapters: "From Columbus to Jamestown," "Fishermen, Pilgrims and Down-easters," "The Puritans," "The Hudson and the Delaware," "Maryland," "The Carolinas and Georgia," "Pennsylvania," "The First Half of the Eighteenth Century," "The Self-Conscious Era," "The American Revolution." Of these ten chapters, seven are devoted to the founding of colonies in the seventeenth and (in the case of Georgia) early eighteenth centuries; two are devoted to the eighteenth century prior to the Revolution, one to the Revolutionary era. These proportions seem heavily weighted on the side of the seventeenth century, but the disproportion is partly compensated by the greater length of the later chapters.

The book is an "album," as its title indicates, and parts of it are pretty good history. It is a vast collection of pictures that has been gathered from many sources; the general quality of the reproduction is only fairly good. There is a text accompanying the pictures, presumably to bind them together in a sort of unity; but if this is the purpose, it is a complete failure. For example, on page 103, there is a picture of the deserted grave of William Blackstone; below it is a picture of the old stone tower at Newport. The text beside the picture of the tower reads as follows:

What Was It?

Was this old tower at Newport when Rhode
Island was settled, or was it built
subsequently? Was it an old mill? Was
it some pre-Columbian structure?

Now one might reasonably ask what the deserted grave of William Blackstone and the old tower at Newport contribute, after all, to the laudable aim set forth

in the foreword. Why are these pictures put in, anyway? Why is it desirable to include (to cite another example) a picture of the interior of a Finnish bath, taken from Acerbi's *Travels through Sweden*? That, surely, was not the world of our ancestors. One cannot avoid the conclusion that the compilers of this album allowed themselves to slip into the mood of sheer antiquarians all too often. The text, indeed, is often utterly puerile: On page 113, in the chapter on "The Puritans," appears a picture of Cotton Mather; the accompanying text reads:

Mather Was a Puritan . . .
The Reverend Cotton Mather, vain and
irascible, wrote books, and is remembered.

Why say anything at all?

In the chapter on the first half of the eighteenth century there appear reproductions of old maps, drawings of buildings and towns—some of which date as late as 1849 and 1860—houses, furniture, dress, taverns, churches, sermons, ships, books, silver. There is no unity, no coherence, and only the vaguest sort of plan. "A Puritan Face" and "A Gentleman from Maine" are followed by a page on "The Deerfield Massacre," that by pages on "Travel," "The Great Awakening," "Louisb[o]urg," "Currency," pictures of shipbuilding, ropemaking, and so on. Many of the pictures of trades, by the way, are taken from *L'Encyclopédie*, and present scenes which were made from French life and which almost certainly were never duplicated in America.

The same lack of organization appears in chapter ix on "The Self-Conscious Era." For example, the topic "colleges were springing up" appears on page 296, with pictures of the colleges of New Jersey, King's College, and Rhode Island College; a picture of Ezra Stiles appears on page 207; a picture of Harvard appears on page 328.

The last four pages of the book are devoted to the westward movement that followed the Revolution. On pages 408 and 409 there are pictures of Cumberland Gap and the Housatonic River (dated 1872-74), portraits of Daniel Boone and Simon Kenton, sections of a road map of 1789, and a contemporary sketch of a frontier clearing. There is also a photograph of a statue of a buffalo which certainly is no flattery to the noble animal itself. Of these, the road maps and the sketch of the clearing are definitely useful and informative historical documents; they ring true, and they are convincing of the validity of this sort of thing. The pictures of Boone and Kenton have some value; the pictures of the Cumberland Gap and the Housatonic River are anachronistic; the picture of the buffalo will have validity only for little children. These two pages, which are neither the best nor the worst in the book, are typical of it. Some genuinely interesting historical materials are mixed with much that is of doubtful value and a good deal that is both worthless and definitely misleading. It appears that in their effort to present many pictures, the compilers of the book often allowed themselves to disregard the methods and the ideals of historical criticism.

Yet the book is not without its virtues. A sincere effort is made to present all the aspects of the varied life of the early Americans. Art, music, candlesticks, cradles, plows, ships, churches, books, and samplers were all parts of the daily experience. If they are presented here in incoherent fashion, it might possibly be explained that they were somewhat incoherent to the people who lived among them. And the almost complete absence of any text makes any real coherence impossible. The older *Pageant of America*, with somewhat fewer pictures, was more successful. Yet the effort to present the whole life of man through pictures is itself a commendable recognition of the fact that man is not a political animal all the time.

Further—and this is the highest tribute that can be paid the book—this album does, despite its failures, often present history through pictures. For pictures are documents. Old maps are as important, as “documentation” of the intellectual or economic life of our ancestors, as personal letters or newspapers or acts of legislatures. So are paintings; so are houses; so are chairs and silver and children’s spelling books. Where this album presents its “documents” as historical documents, it achieves history; where it indulges the antiquarian frailties of its editors and where its text fails adequately to explain the “document” or to relate it to others, it fails to do more than appeal to old antiquarians and young children.

It is a pity such a supreme effort was made to give this album a popular appeal. It is to be hoped that a new edition that will be more adequately historical may be issued. To be successful as history, any such collection must (a) strictly observe the canons of historical criticism and (b) have enough of a unified text to make the collection have meaning. The idea is an excellent one, but it will have to be more excellently executed before it can command the full respect of historians.

Stanford University

MAX SAVELLE

WINTHROP PAPERS. Volume IV, 1638–1644. Edited by *Allyn Bailey Forbes*. (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society. 1944. Pp. xl, 531.)

VOLUME IV of the Winthrop Papers covers the years 1638–1644 and contains material representing the most important trends in the history of the expansion of New England. Of the four hundred and twenty-seven items printed, about one fourth are printed for the first time. These are interesting and revealing but are for the most part of minor significance. Perhaps the greatest contribution of this volume is the assembling, in easily accessible book form, of letters on main issues from various other publications.

One of the dominant threads running through the book is the extent of the influence of Winthrop’s leadership, which was not by any means limited to matters spiritual. Friends in England and settlers in America burdened him with problems of every sort, of private as well as public concern. They brought him cases of conscience, they sought his advice about taking a wife, they asked him

to remonstrate with unruly offspring, to check up on the profits of mercantile ventures, to collect sums overdue, to arrange apprenticeships, to hire servants, to negotiate "arbitrations" on matters which might otherwise have gone into court. Even outside the bounds of his colony his influence was very great. The amount of correspondence from founders of new settlements, including men banished from Massachusetts, indicates that Massachusetts Bay was looked upon as the parent center and Winthrop as its leader, even in the years when he was not governor.

The charming personality and nobility of character of Winthrop, revealed so definitely in these letters, help explain the potency of his influence as the great Puritan leader. His sympathy for those in travail of spirit, his tenderness in family relations, his warm friendliness, his sense of humor, and his reasonableness were well known and appreciated and doubtless helped make more acceptable the deflating frankness with which he handled matters of controversy. Troubles of his own he had in plenty, but they did not preoccupy him unduly. Through the carelessness and dishonesty of his steward, his estate suffered and he became involved in a number of disturbing situations over financial obligations. His struggle with antinomianism was practically at an end, but other controversies arose to afflict him, among them the ones with Hooker, who accused him and others in Massachusetts of prejudicing people against going to Connecticut; with Lord Say and Sele for maintaining that the Puritans of Massachusetts were God's chosen people to the exclusion of Puritan settlers in the Caribbean; and with the deputies over the negative voice of the magistrates.

The volume makes an important contribution to social history of the period. It is interesting to see that in comparison with later frontier communities beyond the mountains these early new world plantations seemed to have suffered far less from physical hardships. People appear to have lived comfortably very soon after transplanting, maintaining much the same standards as those enjoyed at home. Minute directions for the building of a house, orders for clothes, inquiries for servants and Indian slaves, inventories of such food items as prunes, "smirna raysons," currants, nutmegs, ginger, "bisketts," and oranges and lemons from Bermuda indicate a fairly high standard of living and a state of moderate prosperity. The leaders were, however, well aware that the plantation could not continue indefinitely on the capital of its backers, small mercantile ventures, and production of food, but must become self-supporting by developing staples of value both to the colony and to England. To that necessity John Winthrop, jr., devoted his attention, and, after a trip to England to procure workmen and materials, embarked on the project of developing mines and iron works. The outcome of this venture as well as the economic expansion of New England belongs to a later story.

Mount Holyoke College

VIOLA F. BARNES

EARLY AMERICAN-AUSTRALIAN RELATIONS, FROM THE ARRIVAL OF THE SPANIARDS IN AMERICA TO THE CLOSE OF 1830. By *Gordon Greenwood*, Lecturer in History, University of Sydney. Foreword by S. H. Roberts. (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press. 1944. Pp. ix, 184. 10s.6d.)

Dr. Greenwood's monograph is a valuable contribution to a subject that is just beginning to be studied. Although some United States citizens may be misled by his title into thinking that he is concerned only with relations between his country and theirs, he quite rightly deals with Australia and South America as well as North America. It is good to have our egotism dashed once in a while.

The opening chapter deals with the perennially fascinating question of how it came about that the Spanish explorers of the South Pacific almost-but-not-quite discovered the Australian continent, a baffling mystery which some good folk have been tempted into "solving" by asserting that in fact they did. On Dr. Greenwood's showing, the evidence is overwhelmingly against such a hypothesis. He then explores the curious role of the American Revolution of 1776 in directing British attention to Australia or, specifically, Captain James Cook's New South Wales, especially the activities of James Mario Matra. Matra was a spokesman for refugee loyalists who wished to resettle under the British flag. As far as Australia is concerned, they lost out, for it was decided to make the new settlement exclusively a penal colony. Of course the revolution also played a part in forcing the selection of a new outlet for convicts sentenced to "transportation." A short sketch is given of the voyage of Vancouver to the northwest coast of North America in 1791, for which the tiny new settlement at Sydney provided supplies. From very early days the North Americans engaged in whaling and sealing off the Australian coasts. As Dr. Greenwood tells the story, the conspicuous figure was the redoubtable Captain Amasa Delano. Next comes the Anglo-Spanish war of 1796, which brought South America into the picture again, and then follows an account of the South Pacific angles of the Anglo-American War of 1812. The last fifty pages of the book deal soberly with trade relations between Australia and North and South America. Dr. Greenwood remarks, "The foreign trade of New South Wales in the first twenty years of the settlement was almost entirely confined to the United States." This may astonish some readers and provoke them to have a look at the book. Appendixes include "Shipping Returns: North American Trade 1792-1830," lists of vessels departing from Sydney for South America and arriving from there 1821-1830, and data on the nefarious rum trade of the early days. A useful bibliography is provided.

Not all of Dr. Greenwood's material is new, but he uniformly handles it dexterously and with good sense. Moreover he gets the episodes into a viable context and into perspective. Hitherto they have mostly been just episodes. The book would have been strengthened had Dr. Greenwood been able to work in American libraries, but as it stands it is a valuable introduction to a subject that steadily increases in interest right up to the present moment. A lot of odd, curious,

and substantial business was transacted between Australia and the Americas before it was forced upon our attention at the end of 1941.

Tuckahoe, New York

C. HARTLEY GRATTAN

RICHARD PETERS, PROVINCIAL SECRETARY AND CLERIC, 1704–1776. By *Hubertis Cummings*. [Pennsylvania Lives.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1944. Pp. viii, 347. \$3.00.)

THE life of the Reverend Richard Peters is the story of a Pennsylvania colonist in the years 1734 to 1776. Although Mr. Peters never rose to greatness, he occupied positions of prominence in church and state which brought with them considerable emoluments and social prestige. His first three years in this country were spent quietly as the assistant rector of Christ Church in Philadelphia. Rumors of youthful indiscretions proved to be no barrier to his appointment by the Penns in 1737 to the secretaryship of the land office. In 1743 he became secretary and clerk of the provincial council, a vantage point for surveying virtually every important happening in the colony for the next thirty years.

As principal resident agent of the Penns, Mr. Peters was privy to all the secrets of the proprietary. His duties thrust him into the perennial boundary dispute between Pennsylvania and Maryland, wherein he encountered the notorious Thomas Cresap, anathema to the Penns and darling of the Calverts. Among the most difficult but at the same time most interesting roles he had to play was that of negotiator with the Indians—his was a powerful voice in the making of the treaties of Lancaster, Easton, and Fort Stanwix. The vicissitudes of the French and Indian War brought him into contact with several of the colonial governors as well as Generals Braddock and Forbes and Colonel Bouquet.

In 1762 Mr. Peters gave up his political career to become the rector of the churches of Christ and St. Peter's. Favored by friendship with the proprietary and influence of the bishop of London, this Anglican divine enjoyed the culture and society of Philadelphia. Prudently, tactfully, and serenely he forged his career, growing adept at combining business with pleasure. He lived in a city torn by strife of contending factions and a society rife with gossip if not scandal, but through it all he pursued an even course. He was a faithful servant to the Penns but never at risk to himself. When it was safe to denounce Whitfield he did so; when Wesleyan doctrines leavened Philadelphian Anglicanism, Peters went along. He was essentially a trimmer.

Mr. Cummings' book is valuable to the specialist in Pennsylvania history because of its contribution to the knowledge of the proprietary side of provincial life. He has delineated the character of Richard Peters against the background of the times without praise or censure, depicting the religious, social, and political life of the colony as his subject might have viewed it. One could wish that he had given a more detailed account of Peters' connection with the College of Philadel-

phia which he served as first president of the board of trustees, of his backing of Dr. Morgan's project for a medical school, and a fuller description of his library, reputed to be one of the best in the city. Curiosity is aroused but not satisfied concerning his antipathy to Franklin and William Allen. The dearth of information on these points is contrasted with a plethora of allusions to forgotten names and incidents which may make the volume difficult reading for the general student of the colonial period.

Brown University

CARL BRIDENBAUGH

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CENTRAL AND WESTERN NEW YORK FROM THE ARRIVAL OF THE WHITE MAN TO THE EVE OF THE CIVIL WAR AS PORTRAYED CHRONOLOGICALLY IN CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNTS. By *Clayton Mau*, Professor of History, State Teachers College, Geneseo, N. Y. (Rochester: Dubois Press; distributed by the Department of History, State Teachers College, Geneseo, N. Y. 1944. Pp. ix, 444. \$3.75.)

IN this history of the development of western New York, Professor Mau has succeeded admirably in telling his story through contemporary or nearly contemporary accounts. He has purposely steered away from the formal events of textbook history and confined his interest to the fabric of everyday living. The result is a narrative of far greater unity and continuity than this source method of writing would lead one to expect and the links and introductions that must necessarily be supplied by the editor himself are held to a remarkably small minimum.

The first part of the book, dealing with the Indian occupancy and ending with General Sullivan's devastation of the Iroquois towns in 1779, is the weakest and most fragmentary. The Indians as people fail to emerge; they are treated entirely from the white man's point of view and do not speak in their own cause. It seems to me that this entire section might have been omitted with benefit to the book as a whole. For, once Mr. Mau concerns himself with the white settler and his hardships, ailments, methods of clearing land, boundary troubles, his improvisations, early schools and churches, his mills and his liquor, his neighborliness and rambunctiousness and cold calculation, a full portrait of the American citizen in process of self-creation and development emerges with wonderful effectiveness. Mr. Mau's selections have been made with a canny eye. I only wish there were more of them and that some of the pieces ran longer. The old stand-bys, like Orsamus Turner and Arad Thomas, without whose early histories a book of this sort could not possibly be compiled, have been liberally quoted. So also have the best accounts of travel across the landscape. To turn the pages is like meeting old friends for anyone who has done research in early New York history. You begin to wonder if they'll all be in, whether Elder Luther is to have a place, but by gum, there he is. And there also is the dry-voiced canal boatman telling Tyrone

Power about the mosquitoes. The only account of travel I missed was Thurlow Weed's lively piece about his trip from Rochester to Albany—which was probably omitted for geographical reasons; but Mr. Mau made up to me for it by introducing me to John Duncan.

The large amount of space assigned to Joseph Smith, his Mormon revelations, and the quick dismissal of the abduction of William Morgan and the Antimasonic debate is somewhat puzzling; but on the whole it is astonishing how these quotations combine in a sustained picture of our early days. At the end there is an advertisement of an Antislavery Society meeting to be addressed by William Lloyd Garrison; and while Mrs. Bloomer answers a correspondent, Reginald Fowler takes up the matter of Jim Crow cars on the Utica and Schenectady line. The fugitive slave, Dan, stops at Eber Pettit's station on the Underground Railroad. The frontier has moved west along with the wheat lands, and our western community has come of age with the increasing national consciousness of its people.

Boonville, New York

WALTER D. EDMONDS

THE ROLE OF THE SUPREME COURT IN AMERICAN GOVERNMENT
AND POLITICS, 1789-1835. By *Charles Grove Haines*. (Berkeley: University
of California Press. 1944. Pp. xiii, 679. \$6.00.)

IN an article in the *Southwestern Political and Social Science Quarterly* in 1923, entitled "Histories of the Supreme Court of the United States Written from the Federalist Point of View," Professor Haines advanced the thesis that writers of history of the Court have had a Federalist party bias, and that the "Federalist Cult" is seen in such histories "in its most extreme form," where "still breathes the spirit of recalcitrant federalism," and that such writers have omitted facts expressing the point of view of the other political divisions of the American people. This was a rather serious charge against the intellectual integrity of such writers.

In the present lengthy and comprehensive volume—the product of vast labor—Professor Haines develops this thesis, stating that "those who have attempted to evaluate the contributions of the Supreme Court to American legal and political thought have not infrequently viewed the development of American history from the standpoint of a bias favorable to one of the great political factions which has struggled for ascendancy and power. Thus the story of the Court has usually been told in such a way as to defend and laud the Federalist and Nationalist policies and principles and correspondingly to depreciate and condemn the local, particularist and democratic principles and traditions in American life." The author's design is to counteract these alleged prejudices and omissions on the part of previous writers and to present the argument of other sides in the discussion of some of the underlying issues of American law and politics. Carrying out this design, he sets forth with full, interesting, and often fresh details not only the line of approach of the Federalists with respect to important Constitutional

cases prior to 1835 but also the arguments and political conditions of those who held narrow views of the Constitution and broad views as to state rights, as well as of those who opposed the right of judicial review. In so doing, Professor Haines evidently expects other writers to disagree with some of his conclusions and to challenge some of his statements; and in this respect, he will not be disappointed.

The author's further design is to consider the political affiliations, views, and activities of the Justices, the decisions of the Court and their political relations as a part of the Federal system, together with an appraisal of differing valuations of its work. In this connection, he states (p. 41) that the Court "has been an important political agency from the time of its establishment in 1789 to the present time." The phrase is perhaps unfortunate, since it may be misunderstood as meaning a partisan political agency, though he probably does not so intend it. Certainly, it would be difficult to maintain that all the Justices who served on Chief Justice Marshall's Court held the same political party views, or rendered their decisions purely in accordance with such views.

The cumulative effect of the emphasis placed on alleged omissions in previous histories leaves the impression that Professor Haines is inclined to believe that Federalist party doctrines were generally wrong, that the decisions upholding those doctrines were political decisions, and that the views of the Antifederalists or early Republicans were in many instances more in accord with the Constitution.

Professor Haines, throughout, in assessing influences surrounding the cases treated by him, contrasts the conservative, Federalistic, and nationalistic group with the radical, democratic, particularistic, and liberal group in their respective interpretations of the Constitution, and he states the contentions of these two opposing factions in their bearing on the validity of the early judicial decisions. But such a classification is too neat and uncomplicated. (It resembles Beard's unshaded economic division of the people in 1787-1788.) For the Federalists in some localities had state rights and nonnationalistic views. Sometimes, a purely nationalistic judicial decision gave great comfort to the democratic and liberal elements, as in the steamship monopoly case of *Gibbons v. Ogden*. State rights generally meant state rights for the right state. Economic interests often determined action in different ways, regardless of Federalism or Antifederalism. And when one attempts to ascribe opposition to judicial review solely to opponents of nationalism, it should be remembered that in early times it was Jefferson and his followers who opposed the Court, because it *failed* to declare the invalidity of such Federal laws as the Alien and Sedition Acts, the Bank of the United States Charter, and other Federalist legislation, *i.e.*, because it failed to exercise the power of judicial review.

Even if the author's classification, as applied to Constitutional interpretation, were accurate, it must be accepted with caution in any application today; for our present radicals, democrats, and liberals are the most nationalistic portion of the community, claiming for the national government greater powers and a broader construction of the Constitution than Marshall or the Federalist party ever

dreamed of, whereas today's conservatives are largely antinationalistic and favor a greater extent of judicial review of Congressional power than Marshall ever applied. It would seem, therefore, that if the Constitutional arguments of the liberals and radicals of today are correct, then the arguments of the liberals and radicals in Marshall's day must have been wrong.

Washington, D. C.

CHARLES WARREN

ORIGINS OF ACADEMIC ECONOMICS IN THE UNITED STATES. By Michael J. L. O'Connor. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1944. Pp. x, 367. \$4.25.)

THIS study is a valuable contribution to our understanding of the intellectual history of the United States in the first half of the nineteenth century. The appearance of the first teaching of political economy in the American colleges is probably established as definitively as it ever will be. More important is the author's discussion of the origins of the political economy taught and the rise of a number of schools of economic thought. Of these the most persistent and influential was the clerical school. Briefly, it is the author's thesis that the clerical school, which developed during the twenties and thirties in the clerically dominated colleges and schools of the Northeast, modified and adapted the teachings of the classical economists to meet the ruling religious and mercantile interests of its section, after these teachings had been stripped of some of their early anticlericalism and radicalism by later writers. The result was a political economy which, in general, emphasized the role of providence in economic law, stressed the productiveness of the professions (particularly the clergy), defended the mercantile interest more vigorously than the agricultural and manufacturing, and supported laissez-faire and free trade. It was inclined to look askance at the organization of labor and at democracy, particularly economic democracy, although it approved universal education—including political economy properly taught—in the interests of a stable and conservative society. The appearance, in 1837, of Francis Wayland's *Elements of Political Economy*, described by Mr. O'Connor as "the most dogmatic, most conservative, most pious of the clerical books, "gave to the school its outstanding textbook. Its influence was as persistent, perhaps, as that of any textbook in American academic history. The success of the clerical school in establishing its sway over the teaching of economics in the Northeast represented the triumph of a group which, as the author points out, was "sectionally, culturally and politically in the minority," albeit "the most influential minority in American history." Its views, he adds, have "exerted a persistent force in institutions such as colleges, which operate on a level not always accessible to democracy."

The study is based primarily upon a careful analysis of the textbooks used by the several schools. Other sources, however, have not been neglected. For the

reader who may find the critical examination of the texts a bit heavy going, the summaries at the end of each chapter will prove most helpful, as will the introductory and concluding chapters. To the reviewer it seems that the study might have analyzed somewhat more fully the debt of the clerical school to the political and economic thought of Northeastern Federalism. As to the failure of the school to take a more vigorous stand on slavery, was it not due in some measure to confusion in the clerical mind over Biblical support of the institution?

Dartmouth College

W. R. WATERMAN

STEAMBOATS COME TRUE: AMERICAN INVENTORS IN ACTION. By *James Thomas Flexner*. (New York: Viking Press. 1944. Pp. x, 406. \$3.50.)

THIS work is a good narrative of the lives and activities of three early Americans—John Fitch, James Rumsey, and Robert Fulton—and of their pioneer work on the steamboat. It is based principally on Fitch's autobiography and on the several biographies, letters, and other papers of Rumsey and Fulton. Worked into their stories are accurate factual accounts of the efforts made by other men both before and during their times to apply steam power to the propulsion of a vessel, so that the entire story of the development of the steamboat is covered rather completely. As page follows page there is portrayed in considerable detail the background, early environment, traits, and characteristics of the three men and their pre-steamboat interests and occupations. The author then develops each man's independent and unique idea of the steamboat and recounts in detail the ways and means—mechanical, financial, and political—used by each one to bring his idea to fruition. Two appendixes contain an annotated bibliography and additional notes to the text, respectively.

The book is considerably more than a compilation of scattered historical and biographical facts. The author is in search of a clearer understanding of the nature of invention as it may be revealed by a study of three contemporary inventors at work on the same idea. The search is prompted by a belief that, in the light of modern history, the concept and definition of invention such as is held generally by historians, sociologists, and technologists, is narrow and limited. The author feels that the effect of an invention on society is too often overlooked in evaluating a new and useful thing. Also that the acquisition of a patent does not necessarily make the acquirer an inventor. With these extended views of invention in mind the author examines his three subjects in detail to determine what constitutes an inventor and an invention. He concludes that, insofar as the steamboat is concerned, new definitions are in order. He writes, in part, "The term inventor then has a meaning only if taken in the sense of a man who was slightly in advance of the procession at the crucial moment when his civilization was already on the verge of the discovery he was about to make. . . . The inventor is not necessarily the most original. . . . The inventor's eminence may be more

a trick of chronology. . . . According to this definition, popular history is correct: Robert Fulton was the inventor of the steamboat."

Washington, D. C.

CARL W. MITMAN

AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETIES, 1790-1860. By *Leslie W. Dunlap*, Assistant Librarian, University of Wisconsin. (Madison: privately printed. 1944. Pp. ix, 238. \$3.50.)

DR. Dunlap's study shows that before the Civil War 65 historical societies were formed in the United States, compared to 833 listed in the 1944 edition of *Historical Societies in the United States and Canada: A Handbook* (excluding supplementary lists). The figures then and now (omitting national and general organizations) are New England, 16 and 136; middle Atlantic states, 11 and 159; Old Northwest, Iowa, Minnesota, and Missouri, 21 and 269; the South (including the District of Columbia but excluding Missouri), 16 and 105; and the remainder of the country, 1 and 127. That is, before 1861, New England, the middle Atlantic states, and the Old Northwest, Iowa, Minnesota, and Missouri accounted for 48 of a total of 65 societies, or 74 per cent. Today the same states contain 564 of 796 societies (excluding national and general ones), or 70 per cent. Then as now the South and Far West lagged far behind. In the earlier period the three leading states were Ohio (9 societies), Massachusetts (7), and New York (7). Today Pennsylvania leads (77), followed by Massachusetts (71), and New York (59), while Ohio ranks seventh with 32.

These early societies were similar in most respects to those of our own day. They were formed usually by lawyers, ministers of the gospel, and other leaders of their communities. Private societies like those of Massachusetts and New York were the rule in the East, while in the Middle West the state historical society, partly supported by state funds, was already taking shape—as in Iowa and Minnesota. (The third type of historical agency, the state department or commission, had not yet come into existence.) Some societies were strong, while others were weak; the former by 1861 had already begun to build up sizable endowments and several already occupied their own buildings. From the beginning the chief function of all of them was clearly seen as the collection and preservation of historical source materials, and several brought together valuable accumulations. Most of the societies issued publications of one type or another, and their collections were beginning to be used by historians as the basis of their writings.

The present study is divided into two parts. The first (133 pages) describes topically the founding, problems, and activities of the societies, while the second (85 pages) gives a sketch of each of them. Based upon the various societies' publications and the manuscript files of several, the work is well planned, thorough,

carefully documented, and ably executed—a valuable contribution. It indicates the need for similar studies for the period since 1860.

North Carolina Department of
Archives and History

CHRISTOPHER CRITTENDEN

THE BRITISH TRAVELLER IN AMERICA, 1836–1860. By *Max Berger*,
Manhattan High School of Aviation Trades, New York City. [Studies in
History, Economics, and Public Law, Number 502.] (New York: Columbia
University Press. 1943. Pp. 239. \$3.00.)

THIS study serves well the purpose for which it was intended—to provide a companion volume to Jane L. Mesick's standard treatise, *English Traveller in America, 1785–1835*. It is also particularly pertinent in days like these, when Anglo-American analyses are assets for common understanding. Travel accounts, as Dr. Berger states, may have limited value in correctly assessing a country's institutions. But in this instance, the synthesis of both similar and conflicting views is so sharply and compactly done as to constitute an indispensable study in the relationships between the British and American peoples.

The voluminous accounts written by more than 230 travelers, mostly of middle and upper class origin, mirrored those who journeyed more than the land they visited. The conservative majority discovered little to commend to their countrymen at home. The liberals readily found the improvements on British culture which they had anticipated. Prejudiced as the travelers were, their assembled comments on American customs and character, government, slavery, religion, and education make an interesting composite picture of the United States through others' eyes. Only incidental interest was exhibited in our growing commerce and industry.

On virtually all topics, general agreement about America was sparse. The travelers' thoughts about this new and strange country were as wide apart as their backgrounds in England. However, they generally admired the high level of literacy and the common school system, and although their opinions about slavery were divergent, the travelers also agreed that sudden manumission was full of dangers.

Most of the judgments passed were superficial. The critical works of the earlier part of the period—those of Harriet Martineau, Alexander Mackay, and George Lyell, to mention only a few, were far superior to those that followed. Yet, it must be remembered that in the entire fifty-year period there was to be found no British critic who was the equal of De Tocqueville.

A few detailed observations on this volume may be appropriate. Two opening chapters on the travelers and on the country of their pilgrimages are particularly valuable. More of the data on the individual travelers, appearing in the comprehensive critical bibliography, might have been included in these earlier pages. The

reader might then secure a more informative background for understanding the travelers' reactions chronicled in later pages. The study has few technical errors, although it is discomfiting to have Dr. Berger refer to Sir G.C.G.F. Berkeley as Sir Berkeley, an understandable error among our untitled countrymen.

In a study of this kind the writer need not aspire to provide entertainment. Nevertheless, colorful personalities like Fanny Kemble, Featherstonhaugh, Combe, and their companions should provide the substance for a more popular work. Perhaps Dr. Berger, having established the fundamentals, would like to embark upon such a project.

Washington, D. C.

WILLIAM E. CHACE

RANGER MOSBY. By *Virgil Carrington Jones*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1944. Pp. xiii, 347. \$3.50.)

THIS book is written in the modern biographical style. Instead of limiting himself to material for which there is historical authority, the author assumes ideas which he believes his hero must have had. Conversations are given for which no record exists. This method makes for a very readable account of the life of General John Singleton Mosby, the great partisan leader of northern Virginia during the War of the Rebellion.

Mosby had a very colorful career. He was just about thirty years old when he assumed charge of his Rangers in early 1863. He started with less than a dozen men, but the number increased gradually until it numbered nearly three hundred in 1865. His men had no regular station or camp but lived wherever they pleased and at their own expense. They were assembled from time to time, at designated rendezvous, for particular operations. As word of where and when these rendezvous were to take place never reached everybody and as the men were wholly uncontrolled, the number reporting seldom amounted to as many as a hundred, and often it was much under a hundred.

Mosby, except when absent because of wounds, which happened three times, led his men himself. He never told anyone of his plans in advance, a habit which occasionally led to misunderstandings and defeat. The object of his expeditions was to capture Federal supplies and trains. This was a legitimate military mission, but the supplies captured were appropriated to the use and benefit of the Rangers on a share and share alike basis, always excluding Mosby himself, who consistently refused to accept any loot.

This practice was believed necessary to insure the loyalty and participation of the Rangers. It resulted, after each success, in a general scattering of the men to search for valuables. At times a counterattack led to their losing the gains and to the loss of their own men.

Mosby took the point of view that supplies captured in war were forfeited to the victors by military law and that it was immaterial to those who lost whether

goods taken were turned in for national use or were distributed among the soldiery. This is probably true. For centuries it was customary for soldiers to benefit by property captured in war. Experience has shown that this practice led to disorders, drunkenness, and a material lowering of discipline. The enactment of laws, in which the United States has always been a participant, requiring that all enemy property taken becomes national and not personal stores, was intended not for the benefit of the losers but for the maintenance of order among the victors. Such order Mosby's Rangers frequently lacked.

Notwithstanding the method of writing this biography, the author has succeeded in giving an account of Mosby as accurate as any and certainly most entertaining. Most previous biographies, like this one, are based upon memoirs and accounts written years afterwards. During the war Mosby kept no records and made but few reports. Secondary sources are all that are available for the mass of incidents connected with two and a half years of partisan warfare.

In lieu of a bibliography there is a good index, a poor map, and notes, which give a good indication of the author's sources.

Manchester, New Hampshire

CONRAD H. LANZA

WALTER CLARK, FIGHTING JUDGE. By *Aubrey Lee Brooks*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1944. Pp. x, 278. \$3.00.)

A book like this should be at once a biography, a chapter of local history, an event in the shaping of a culture. For Walter Clark was a man after his own manner; his work bore the indelible idiom of the Old North State; his career was shaped by the conflicts which attended the rise of industrialism.

Walter Clark, who belongs to the vintage of Altgeld and Reagan and Tom Watson, is the jurist of the Populist movement. As a man he was austere and ambitious, fiery and industrious, visionary and downright realistic. He was widely read, little given to frivolity and the glad hand, more skilled at persuasion than at compromise. He loved the human race in the abstract; did not like to have his fellow men around; gave his all to humanity. He was concerned to serve the common people, not content to do their will.

In an intellectual climate other than North Carolina his talents might never have had their chance. The ways of the state provided a protective coloring beneath which he could exercise his freedom. He was a Methodist; kept his allegiance to the Democratic party "regular"; never abdicated the office of Confederate soldier. By editing the annals of the North Carolina regiments, he kept alive the memory of the Lost Cause. He was "quality" linked by blood with the clans of the Grahams, the Thornes, the McKenzies, the Norfleets—and the North Carolina aristocracy has always been "peculiar." It has been well-to-do; yet—the Dukes, Reynolds, *et al.* aside who were not quality—it has never had more money than it could lay out wisely. As a result the tradition of public service has been mighty

among "the best families." In another locale Walter Clark might have become an able editor, a professor of law, a rather bookish country squire. He might even have had a brief fling at public life. He couldn't have lasted; for, as his unfortunate campaign for the United States Senate shows, he had no gift for political hippodrome. The state provided an aura of conformity for his proneness to protest. Nowhere else could he as a crusading judge have carried on for three and a half decades.

Thus to him fell the opportunity to carry the creed of Populism—manifest in the Granger movement, the Farmers' Alliance, the People's party, Bryanism, the Square Deal, the New Freedom, the New Deal—to the legal frontier. His life began in 1843 under the autarchic plantation system; it ended in 1924 as capitalism was already exhibiting symptoms of decay. To him it was an axiom that industry is the instrument of the commonwealth. And, as man and judge, he watched with apprehension the emergence of the national economy and did what he could to turn its impersonal turbulence to social ends.

In juristic terms the public welfare was to him the supreme law. Although no Marxist, he was always curious as to whence the law came and to whose benefit it operated. He loved "to challenge to mortal combat the god of the status quo." And, in defiance of what is now called "legal law," he did not hesitate to disregard verbal precedents in securing ancient values amidst novel conditions. He had little sympathy with the doctrine of judicial supremacy. He was, in dissent and for his court, a champion of the rights of children, women, minorities; an advocate of collective bargaining and farmers' co-operatives; a judge unable to discover Constitutional obstacles in the way of social legislation. Many of his judgments on great issues of the state and the economy broke a path for the law upon which Brandeis, Stone, Cardozo, JJ. traveled. He pioneered where F.D.R.'s "packed"—or is it unpacked?—Court has just placed landmarks of the law.

All of this Aubrey Lee Brooks captures in an admirable "life." The book is concrete and dramatic, yet concise. It is pivoted upon Walter Clark's great battles; endows local events with national significance; hews closely to the line of the relevant. And if the author follows his subject off the bench and into extra-curricular activities, it is to record events in the same crusade. A chapter tells of the grouping of railroads into systems, the loss of control to the investment bankers, the creation of a rate structure which has left the South in a state of arrested development. Another probes the story of the public utilities, their conversion of excessive charges into capital structures, their beatific strategy of tax avoidance. A third, concerned with the metamorphosis of Trinity College into Duke University, recites the battle with Kilgo and Duke; parades this united front of God and Mammon for the control of the higher learning; and lights up the course of events with high comedy. And, borrowing a dramatic trick, the author throughout uses "Buck" (James B.) Duke—a fellow citizen of the same generation and in every respect Walter Clark's antithesis—as a foil. If these are tales which North Caro-

linians love to tell, their like were occurring on many a local scene. The theme of the book is one man's fight for the public control of industrialism.

The book is not without its flaws. The date at which Walter Clark went to the state supreme court is set down once as 1889, a second time as 1899; 1889 is correct. The vacancy on the United States Supreme Court which Clark, but for his advanced years, might have had, was filled by James Clark McReynolds, not by John Heston Clarke; the "wrong Clark" went up two years later. The author follows the caption in the official reports in making Mr. Chief Justice Taney the author of "the opinion of the Court" in the Dred Scott case. Taney, for all the blame heaped on him personally, wrote *an* opinion, not *the* opinion, in that historic case. The opinions of all nine brethren must be carefully screened to capture "the opinion of the Court." As a device of art Brooks habitually weaves Clark's language into his narrative; the sparing use of quotation marks—it would be pedantic so to enclose every captured phrase—leads him at one point to attribute to Clark a sentence quoted from Waite, C. J., in *Munn v. Illinois*.

But on the whole Brooks's *Walter Clark* rises quite above the level of its kind. It far outclasses Fairman's life of *Samuel Miller*, which is saved from boredom only by the inclusion of the Justice's indiscreet letters. And, if it does not excite quite as much as Horton's *James Kent*, the difference is in drama. For there is told how a Tory judge forced a reactionary legal system on an unwilling republic; here the story concerns a democratic judge locally voicing opinions which his more highly placed brethren later turned into immortal utterances. Again proof is offered that the law reports are one of the richest sources of cultural history.

Yale Law School

WALTON HAMILTON

GEORGE FITZHUGH: PROPAGANDIST OF THE OLD SOUTH. By *Harvey Wish*. [Southern Biography Series.] (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1943. Pp. ix, 360. \$3.00.)

SOME believe that a study of minor writers most accurately reveals the thought of a period because they do not make the current but are borne by it. A good argument may be made for this view, and perhaps the present volume is a case in point. Fitzhugh was habitually quoted, not because his opinions were original or novel but because he voiced the supposed interests of the dominant group in the South. He was amenable to changes in contentions of editors of the chief journals for which he wrote, and he followed the shifts in public thought in his section. This bandwagon climbing involved him in inconsistencies of which he was careless. His uncontrollable volubility made him a propagandist, who is some degrees less scholarly than the faithful apologist. Calhoun had conviction, which brought him close to creativeness; Ruffin had integrity, which did something to mitigate his wrongheaded insistence; but Fitzhugh was plausible only in the sense that he was the perfect partisan.

Mr. Wish's portrayal, painstaking as it is, hardly justifies a full length book. It is only slyly critical, letting Fitzhugh condemn himself out of his own mouth, and it does not sufficiently treat the times which made the man. Fitzhugh's matrix received its form from the slave economy, and a knowledge of this economy is too much taken for granted. Herbert Wender's study, several years ago, of the series of Southern commercial conventions, took the better turn on it, showing how sectional advantage was solemnly rationalized. Further, if Fitzhugh was to be set forth as an exponent of Southern thought, then contrary views, notably those of Helper, or such as were expressed in Virginia after the Southampton insurrection, should have come in for fuller attention.

Fitzhugh, a Virginia country lawyer of sleepy little Port Royal beside the muddy Rappahannock, in default of paying clients, wrote briefs for the slaveholding class and thought to be remunerated in general gratitude. Ironically, he did not reap even this retainer, because much of his work was unsigned, in newspapers, and all of it was so pat to the purpose, that he became a kind of folk song, the author forgotten. When he is recalled, as in this book, which concentrates on the man with slight regard to his environment, he is resurrected only to seem preposterous. He was not incredible if one remembers the influences upon him, but Mr. Wish, except occasionally, has missed the opportunity to show how a lopsided society may deform the mind of its devotee.

New York City

BROADUS MITCHELL

THE USE OF PRESIDENTIAL POWER, 1789-1943. By *George Fort Milton*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1944. Pp. xiii, 349. \$3.00.)

THE capital problem of effective social action, especially of government by the people, is leadership. This book grapples with that problem. If not sober history, if not accurate science in politics and administration, it is the work of a highly appreciated publicist. Here is an interpreter of the day's work whose view is enriched by a long-run awareness of the past. He has the editor's courage to utter today's judgments, because that is the point at which conscience must direct action. As the book covers a full century and a half, a vast field where hundreds of biographers and social analysts have wrought, Mr. Milton takes the risk that at many points his judgments of men and events will be debated. Not debatable is the author's competence and high public spirit.

Presidential power has not developed continuously; there has been ebb and flow. Crisis has occasionally evoked mastermind and master will; but there have been exceptions, like the fumbling of Madison in 1812. There have been long desert periods when, in Bryce's words, "great men are not chosen president."

Six criteria are presented, for application to those men worth considering, who prove to be just eight in number out of the thirty-two men who have attained to the presidency. Four of the six functions are mentioned in the docu-

ment of 1787; (1) chief of state, a dignity corresponding to monarchy; (2) chief of government (premiership, administrative responsibility for the faithful execution of the law); (3) and (4), more specific, chief conductor of foreign relations and commander-in-chief of the armed forces. These four, it should be mentioned in passing, are dealt with not in the analytic juristic spirit of the constitutional lawyer but, fittingly, as factors of our living polity, our working constitution. Out of the public life as it actually functions have developed two additional facets of the President's power, (5) chief of party and (6) leader of public opinion. Incidentally one may speculate on the wonder, if not the horror, with which George Washington would have contemplated this change that has resulted from the current of democratizing developments. But the father of his country did not shrink from innovation upon what his generation inherited. Do we?

Little attempt is made to assess the relative weight of these six presidential functions, but the book abounds in keen appreciations, which range over our whole national history. Naturally our author must select, and his selections and omissions will disappoint readers, variously. The eight men who receive extended study are Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, Cleveland, Theodore Roosevelt, Wilson, and Franklin Roosevelt. Most of the other two dozen presidents are let off with a bare mention. Indeed, over one third of the total space is devoted to telling the story and applying the criteria to Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt, on whose much debated careers the material is vast, both printed matter and the views of living observers. Some fifty names in this last category, the author's consultants, are mentioned in the introduction; they impress the reader as of notable weight and credit.

As we run through the list of eight men, subjected to examination by these six criteria, one remarkable fact stands out: They are infinitely various, they are all so all-too-human. President X rates 95 per cent on one count; on another he was a miserable failure. President Y surprises us again by another algebraic sum of pluses and minuses. Assassination in 1865 enabled one to escape the fiery trials of a postwar reconstruction and to emerge a national saint. What might apoplexy have done to another in 1919? What may be ahead of us?

The author's dominant interest (notwithstanding the book's title) in personalities rather than institutions, results in a disappointing neglect of two topics which one would expect him to treat: the cabinet and the confidant. If presidential power grows to superhuman proportions, it cannot be effective save through human agencies which will enable a mere man to project himself beyond himself, both for receiving impression from outside (private secretary, press conference, digester of pressure-group and more public-minded opinions) and for communicating himself to the outside world, by the "executive ability" to achieve results through the loyal co-operation of trusted agents. At this point, we as a people that would govern ourselves have much to learn. We get a great man (once in a long time) into the White House, and we know not how to use him for all he is

worth, how to supplement him where he is short, we childishly tire of hearing Aristides called the Just, and we ostracize.

Get our subject far enough back into history, and beatification is easy. Our author does well to remind us that Lincoln "as Chief of Government was a misfortune," that "the class and party hatred of him was even more bitter than that against Washington or Franklin Roosevelt." "He moved public opinion by the things that he did, rather than through the gadgetry of public relations experts, or massaging editors' backs." "In a time of crisis it is more important that the President be a master of this public opinion leadership than of the other tasks of the office: Lincoln succeeded chiefly because he was poet and prophet and seer."

Ohio State University

HENRY R. SPENCER

AMERICAN INTERCESSION ON BEHALF OF JEWS IN THE DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES, 1840-1938.

By *Cyrus Adler* and *Aaron M. Margalith*. [Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society, Number 36.] (New York: American Jewish Historical Society. 1943. Pp. xiv, 419, xxxv, 14.)

THE formation by the American military commissioner in Rome of a committee to restore the property of Italian Jews and the establishment of a temporary shelter for European refugees at Oswego has recently focused attention upon the attitudes of the United States government toward the persecuted and hounded peoples of the world. This scholarly publication of the American Jewish Historical Society proves that today's actions are by no means new or unprecedented but deeply rooted in the fundamental traditions of American diplomacy. Hundreds of original documents, covering one hundred years of American foreign policy, are presented here to establish this thesis. They show that the United States, almost alone among the Western powers in the nineteenth century, was always ready to afford unselfish aid to the oppressed minorities of the world and that this policy was in no way motivated by subtle imperialist purposes. The reason that so much of the American diplomatic activity was concerned with the Jews was that they, in this period as from time immemorial, constituted the scapegoat for tyrannical governments.

Again and again, American presidents and secretaries of state expressed the sentiment of liberal America by protesting against persecution of unfortunate Jews in the Near East, Poland, Russia, Rumania, and Central Europe. It does seem, though, that many of these representations had their inception in formal protests by various Jewish organizations in the United States against the treatment accorded their co-religionists abroad. In general, the American representations seem to have been remarkably successful in inducing foreign governments to relax the harshness of their anti-Jewish legislation, except in the case of the long drawn out dispute with tsarist Russia. Notable always was the American insistence that the United States could not recognize any distinction whatsoever among its citizens,

or in foreign relations, on the basis of race, creed, or color. This American policy, which was based of course on the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, was somewhat incomprehensible to European autocracies who were following a program of cynical *realpolitik* diplomacy.

The volume sheds light upon many interesting aspects of modern history, not the least of which is the overwhelming evidence that active anti-Semitism as an instrument of national policy existed, many decades before the rise of Nazism, in the Arabic states and in Rumania, Poland, Austria, and, yes, Germany.

On the whole, this work makes a greater contribution in the variety and significance of the revealing materials assembled than in the way they are presented. Its scholarly apparatus is inadequate and it certainly does not bear the mark of careful historical scholarship. Moreover, it is not sufficiently analytical. The social and economic background of the correspondence is not satisfactorily explained in the somewhat thin and threadbare narrative. We have here not history itself but valuable raw materials for history. Some day they should be synthesized and interpreted with a greater emphasis on the relation of these events to the main currents of the modern world.

College of the City of New York

SOLOMON WILLIS RUDY

THE LEAGUE TO ENFORCE PEACE. By *Ruhl J. Bartlett*, Professor of History, Tufts College. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1944. Pp. viii, 252. \$2.50.)

THIS book is the history of the rise and fall of the American propaganda organization known as the League to Enforce Peace, which originated, formulated, supported, and popularized the League of Nations idea in the United States between the years 1914 and 1920. It converted Woodrow Wilson, as Colonel House assured me, and Wilson more than any man framed the Covenant of the League of Nations at the Versailles Peace Conference and brought it into being.

The League to Enforce Peace was born at a series of four dinners given at the Century Club in New York City in the winter and spring of 1915. It was based on four propositions—namely, that the United States should join a League of Nations in which, first, all justiciable disputes should be referred to a court; second, all nonjusticiable or political disputes should be referred to a council of conciliation; third, the League members should use force against a nation that goes to war without first taking its case before the court or council; and fourth, the members should meet periodically for discussion and legislation.

With ex-President William H. Taft at the head of the organization, President A. Lawrence Lowell of Harvard as chairman of the executive committee, and with the political blessing of President Woodrow Wilson, the League grew in power and prestige, until at the end, its program was endorsed by a majority of the political leaders of the nation, by most of the state legislatures and virtually all

the national, professional, civic, and religious organizations of the land. But a "small and deadly" group, principally in the United States Senate, realizing they could not defeat it by frontal attack when it was embodied in an international treaty, smothered the idea by amendments to the Covenant conceived on the "divide and conquer" policy. Finally the issue became so confused that the Senate refused to confirm the treaty and the League to Enforce Peace died a natural death.

Professor Bartlett has had access to all the living and printed sources of information in the preparation of his book. He not only has the training and scholarship to get the facts but the judgment justly to appraise them. He sums up the parts played by Taft and Lowell admirably. They were both high-minded, honest men. But when the crisis came they both flinched and compromised. Taft saw the proper path intellectually, but he put a faction of the Republican party above the world. Lowell had a mind keener than Taft's, though not so sound, and he was less partisan. Harvard-Boston Brahmin that he was, he was at heart akin to Lodge, but, like Taft and Lodge, he hated Wilson. One of Lowell's frequent sayings at the executive committee meetings of the League to Enforce Peace was that when you have a difference with an opponent it is wise "to lay down a golden bridge between you and him so that he can walk over it." But I noticed that when the bridge was down Lowell did most of the walking.

Elihu Root was the *deus ex machina* of the debacle of the League. He was probably the nearest approach to a Talleyrand that America has produced. It was Root who was the principal adviser of Lodge, and, to a lesser degree, of Taft. He undoubtedly did more behind the scenes to help the opposition than any other man. Root was arrogant, clever, and powerful, and he hated Wilson with all the fury of Lodge but with more reserve. Wilson was Root's peer in dignity and intellectual ability and his superior in the art of expression. Root evidently envied him. Root can possibly best be explained by the fact that he was the attorney first, last, and all the time. When he was Secretary of State, he was attorney for the people and served them faithfully. When he was attorney for the brewers, he put their interests above the people's. In the League issue he was attorney for a faction of the Republican party as represented by Harding and the "Irreconcilables."

Had Taft and Lowell not crumbled and had they supported the League with the fighting spirit shown by Borah, Johnson, and Lodge in opposing it, the United States might have joined the League, and thus might have prevented the present world war.

I suspect that the verdict of history will pronounce Borah, Johnson, and Lodge, and all the others under the behind stage leadership of Root, as being guilty of the greatest political crime in the history of the United States by men in high office.

Now that the essential program of the League to Enforce Peace has been adopted at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference—for it is only by co-operation between the nations that lasting peace and security can be achieved—this book should be a

source book for all future time of one of the most critical turning points in human history. Fortunately Professor Bartlett has done his job so well, that it will never have to be done over again.

Rollins College

HAMILTON HOLT

THE GENTLEMAN FROM MASSACHUSETTS: HENRY CABOT LODGE.

By *Karl Schriftgiesser*. An Atlantic Monthly Press Book. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1944. Pp. 386. \$3.00.)

THIS is a play-by-play account of how politics saturated the "scholar" and of what it did to the ego of a gentleman born and bred. Platform rhetoric, parliamentary dexterity and patriotism were the principal equipment of a career now recorded from end to end two decades after its close. This biography has no hero unless it be party loyalty.

Mr. Schriftgiesser as a competent journalist does a detailed and even intimate story of a life which reflects no sympathy. Apparently no one ever loved the senator beyond the call of duty. Bishop Lawrence, his classmate of Harvard, 1871, tried his hand at a tribute and made hard work of it. This account of a careerist's career is built up out of the newspaper files, the *Congressional Record*, the subject's books, and the memories of veteran political reporters.

After Mr. Lodge learned how to get elected he spent forty years at the job of keeping in office in order to have his way in public affairs. Event after event of national importance falls into that pattern in these pages. The author makes a point of neat and succinct narrative, and quotes contemporaries to place Lodge in the scene. Henry Adams serves as the Greek chorus, with such penetrating remarks as, "the most dangerous rock on Theodore's coast is Cabot."

During Lodge's life he was reputed to be a great man. Adams groomed him for a scholar and he acquired the knacks of that trade. However, ambition and a then serious desire to play the useful part an independent gentleman could in public life led him into the ways and wiles of politics. More and more his career became one of getting the votes for whatever the party called for or whatever appealed to him. In 1904 President Eliot of Harvard had to give the senator, then fifty-four, a degree; he awarded it to one "with long vistas of generous services still awaiting him." Eliot died with his hope unsatisfied.

Senator Lodge began learning how to handle treaties as early as 1897, and by 1902 put his creed into a paper on "The Treaty-Making Powers of the Senate." His exploit with the treaty of peace with Germany and the League of Nations in 1919 takes up nearly a third of this biography. As related it spells out as a persistent plot of a political cabal to defeat an idea both before and after it existed.

The long-continued attack on the Covenant is here recounted as actuated by partisan and personal hatreds. The data for such a picture are plentiful but easily exaggerated. The rancorous feature of this picture is possibly overdrawn. A pub-

licist intimate at the senator's office at the time, though not sympathetic to his memory, has informed the reviewer of his belief that Lodge's main purpose was to get votes for his own brand of reservations. At least four occasions are known when the senator was willing to compromise for the needed votes. Nevertheless, Lodge worked hard to keep the United States out and took credit for doing it.

The author evidently shares the view he cites that the real memorial to Henry Cabot Lodge is the catastrophe of the present war. Perhaps the summary epitaph of this life might be the senator's words of June 9, 1915: "Our efforts will fail if they are tainted with the thought of personal or political profit or with any idea of self-glorification."

Washington, D. C.

THOMAS K. FORD

THE ECONOMIC THOUGHT OF WOODROW WILSON. By *William Diamond*. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXI, Number 4.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1943. Pp. xiv, 210. Cloth \$2.50, paper \$2.00.)

WHATEVER may be the consolations of philosophy in a time of troubles, the consolations of history are numerous and solid. Not least among them is the reflection, comforting alike to pessimists and optimists, that the crises of today are but those of yesterday writ larger and that the burning issues of tomorrow fiercely consumed the nation and the world on the day before yesterday. Whether this is the case only when one deals with the career of a prophet, or perhaps only when one deals with the problems of an age incapable of solving its problems, deponent sayeth not. At all events, William Diamond's brilliantly reasoned and gracefully written analysis of the economic ideology of Woodrow Wilson is as fresh as tomorrow's newspaper. Here is the "New Deal," then called the "New Freedom," beginning with the same hopes and ending with the same frustrations. Here is a domestic reformer "condemned by the irony of fate to deal chiefly with foreign affairs," as Wilson put it. Here is Frederick Jackson Turner, warning the President (like an earlier Clarence Streit and equally in vain) that any effective international organization must restrict national sovereignty and have legislative authority with real power behind it. And here is Thorstein Veblen saying of the Covenant, as many must now say of the program of the United Nations, that "it contemplates no measures for avoiding war by avoiding the status quo out of which the great war arose."

Mr. Diamond's study, in short, is no dry-as-dust compilation of Wilson's articles and speeches dealing with economic problems. It is a tract for the times, a social history of Wilson's generation and a fascinating intellectual biography. Its preparation was suggested by Charles A. Beard and pursued to a highly successful conclusion with the aid of the Wilson Papers in the Library of Congress, plus a full and useful documentation from published sources.

This is the story of a wise and eloquent leader, believing at once in the rule of an educated elite and in the eternal rectitude of the common man. Wilson evolved from a Manchester School individualist into a progressive apostle of the use of the powers of government to promote economic freedom and security. He saw the role of the state as that of an impartial arbiter, acting always to maintain competition. He saw the problem of world order as that of establishing a concert of equal and sovereign nations, pledged together to keep the peace and to coerce the peacebreaker. Diamond does not trace out or evaluate the specific policies by which Wilson sought to realize his hopes. But he sets forth the processes by which the hopes were shaped and dissects Wilson's thinking with a sufficiently sharp scalpel to reveal its inadequacies and its inevitable failure. His monograph is an admirable contribution to the meaningful literature of American history and political science.

What is startling and tragic is that Diamond's closing sentence is equally applicable in 1944 to the leaders of America and Britain, even as they face again what looks like victory in the same war which Woodrow Wilson won and lost: "He was able to see the outline of the great problem of the 20th century, but his training and temperament unfitted him to achieve its solution."

Williams College

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

WOODROW WILSON AND THE LOST PEACE. By *Thomas A. Bailey*.
(New York: Macmillan Company. 1944. Pp. xii, 381. \$3.00.)

In this volume Professor Bailey undertakes to examine the relations of Woodrow Wilson to the establishment of world peace, beginning with Wilson's first pronouncements on the subject and concluding with his submission of the Treaty of Versailles to the Senate in 1919. Professor Bailey's method is to consider critically the alleged blunders that Wilson made, and his objective is to reveal the actual blunders so that peacemakers of the present may not repeat them.

Professor Bailey's catalogue of Wilson's errors, blunders, unfortunate acts, and failures to prevent such acts is large. It includes his Sussex ultimatum, his armistice negotiations, his appeal to the American people to support his peace program, his selection of the Peace Commission, his visit to Italy, his failure to visit the French battle areas, the selection of Paris as the place for the conference, reparations, the Italian territorial settlement, Shantung, the war guilt clauses in the treaty, and many other items. He includes virtually all of the criticisms that Wilson's critics have lodged against him or against the Treaty of Versailles.

It could scarcely be doubted that it is Professor Bailey's intention to weigh these criticisms in a judicial fashion and to sift truth from error. He observes that in some cases Wilson had to concede a point in order to achieve a more important one, that frequently he acted in a given way because he had no better alternative, and in his conclusion he admits, and this is a large admission, that the "sins" of the treaty were not sins at all but that everything depended upon the

way in which it was carried out. In contrast to this tone of fairness to Wilson, however, there is an overtone which pervades the book almost from beginning to end, that weights the argument in favor of Wilson's critics. This overtone is partly the result of Professor Bailey's predilection for declaring that something was a "flagrant," "extraordinary," "costly," or "reverberating" blunder, as he does in discussing the Italian territorial settlement, before he analyzes the situation, with the result that whatever reservations and explanations are entered later tend to be lost from sight. The things that stand out are the blunders and not the extenuating circumstances. When these blunders are piled one upon another and driven home with adjectival extravagance, the total picture of Wilson's efforts for peace is somewhat out of focus.

If one is seeking to discover what the peace actually was, how it was arrived at, what it achieved toward a better ethnic map of Europe, what it promised for world peace and security, why it failed ultimately, and what the achievements and failures of Wilson were in relation to all this, and also what relevance his acts have for the present, he will be disappointed in this book. If he is a casual reader, he may be misled by it. If, however, he is able to disregard the implications of its title and many of its chapter headings, and if he has sufficient background knowledge of its subject matter to make a discriminating selection and appraisal of data, he will find much that is useful in the way of fact and comment and much that is provocative of further study.

Tufts College

RUHL J. BARTLETT

PAPERS RELATING TO THE FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE, 1919. [Department of State.] Volumes III and IV. (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1943. Pp. iv, 1062; iv, 880. \$2.00 each.)

VOLUMES I and II of these papers, published in 1942, covered, respectively, the periods of preparation for the Paris Peace Conference and of the Conference itself, from November 11, 1918, to the first meeting of the Council of Ten on January 12, 1919. The bulk of the volumes under review—1,443 out of a total of 1,755 pages—consists of the minutes of the Council of Ten (Jan. 12–June 17, 1919), and of the Council of Foreign Ministers (Mar. 27–June 25, 1919), together with appended papers. The remainder is devoted to directories and to eight plenary sessions of the Preliminary Peace Conference (Jan. 18–May 31, 1919), six plenary sessions of the Peace Congress—the title applied to the meetings at Versailles, Saint-Germain, Paris, and Neuilly-sur-Seine, at which the conditions of peace were presented to and accepted by the representatives of Germany, Austria, and Bulgaria—(May 7–Nov. 27, 1919), and three sessions of the "Powers with Special Interests," *i.e.*, the smaller states (Jan. 27–Mar. 6, 1919). The plenary sessions of the Preliminary Conference are of interest principally for the expression of views

upon the proper representation of the smaller states, the League of Nations, the International Labor Organization, and the principles to be followed in the terms of peace. The smaller states used their special sessions to expand upon their claims to fuller representation.

On this matter of representation the great powers faced serious objections by their lesser colleagues to their assumption of control of the Conference. The announcement to the plenary session of January 25, 1919, that each of five commissions set up to report upon assigned problems would be composed of two members from each of the five great powers and five members from the other states aroused warm protests from the delegates of the latter, eleven of whom spoke out vigorously, among them Sir Robert Borden of Canada. M. Clemenceau replied bluntly that the great powers had won the war and were entitled to make the peace; that they preferred to ask for help in doing so but that it was for them to say how such help should be given. However, this issue was raised again and again, with resulting adjustments of representation in a number of instances.

No one who reads the minutes of the Council of Ten can fail to be impressed with the weight of responsibility carried by its members, much of it unnecessarily. The number and variety of the extremely difficult problems dealt with called for extraordinary mental effort. Different types of issues were handled concurrently. Such matters as the Polish-Russian-German hostilities, the growth of Bolshevism, and the failure of Germany to execute the terms of the armistice had to be interwoven with issues of procedure—the official language of the Conference, the treatment of the press, etc.—which consumed much of the time needed for consideration of the basic problems of a highly complicated peace settlement. The pressure for an early peace was felt constantly. It is apparent that the men concerned with “high policy” in peace conferences to come should not be burdened with lesser, though by no means unimportant, tasks.

Although volumes of heterogeneous documents have, for a reviewer, something of the appeal of an encyclopedia, there is compensation in the sense of intimacy he comes to feel with the statesmen whose labors are reviewed. Their worries, their abilities and deficiencies, their bigness and their littleness are clearly etched out in the quick give and take of argument. Humor seldom lightens these pages, but eloquence and idealism balance routine exchange and self-interest. President Wilson’s speeches on the League of Nations are well known. The spirit that inspired them never flagged and is expressed on many pages. Wilson’s courage, patience, humanity, and rhetorical skill were needed most on the question of the mandate system, when he had to overcome a solid front of opposition. His appeal for a new deal for colonial peoples could come only from one who realized that the love of freedom is of the nature of men everywhere. Lloyd George obviously felt his influence. Clemenceau did not escape it. These three dominate the documents, though Sonnino speaks frequently. The Japanese delegates said little.

Scholars will be grateful for these volumes and will hope for the early appearance of others in the series. They will appreciate the separate indexes and the black-type inset sentences in the text, which facilitate the location of items relevant to a specific subject.

University of Minnesota

HAROLD S. QUIGLEY

PAPERS RELATING TO THE FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1929. Three volumes. [Department of State, Publications 2018, 2033, 2062.] (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1943, 1944. Pp. cxxxii, 1035; cxxxix, 1132; cxiii, 885. \$2.25, \$2.50, \$2.00.)

"To promote peace is our long-established policy," declared President Hoover in his annual message to Congress (December 3, 1929), which serves as the traditional introduction and covering document for these stout volumes. "Through the Kellogg-Briand Pact a great moral standard has been raised in the world . . ." continued the presidential message. "Through it a new outlook has been inaugurated which has profoundly affected the foreign policy of nations." So everybody seemed to think, and who then could have imagined that the "new outlook" would be toward war and not toward peace and that long before the customary fifteen years had elapsed between the writing and the publication of the documents in these volumes, in fact within the next brief decade, the global war of our times would have begun and the Kellogg-Briand Pact have been relegated to the position of an interesting historical museum piece!

The first volume consists wholly of documents of general international concern. For example, there are President Hoover's efforts to arrange acceptable conditions of American membership in the International Court of Justice, membership in which was not considered by him, as the tribunal was then constituted, to be "the slightest step toward entry in the League of Nations"; and there are the efforts toward naval (preceding the London Conference of 1930) and land (Geneva Conference) disarmament—futile diplomacy, be it added, which paved the way for disarmament by example, and appeasement. Even while looking down the peaceful vista of the "new outlook," the nations carefully negotiated treaties anticipating war: the Geneva Conference of 1929 for amelioration of the condition of the wounded and sick of armies in the field and the treatment of prisoners of war, to which a section is devoted in this volume. Other general negotiations illustrated here by the documents are safety of life at sea, narcotic drugs, counterfeiting, abolition of import and export restrictions, treatment of foreigners, naturalization, dual nationality of women, aerial navigation, trade-marks, radio communication—all subjects of increasing significance in international relations. The most important single document in Volume I, indeed in all three volumes, is a statement on the nature of the Monroe Doctrine (February 28, 1929) made by Secretary of State Kellogg as one of the last acts of his office and dispatched to

the diplomatic representatives of the United States in Latin America for communication to those governments. The purpose of this statement, which was based upon the celebrated Clark memorandum (published in 1930) and is here published for the first time, was to define a war in defense of the Monroe Doctrine as a war of defense, within the meaning of the Kellogg-Briand Pact of Paris, by pruning away, through historical exegesis, the T. Roosevelt corollary to the Monroe Doctrine.

The two sequent volumes contain selected documents illustrating some of the bilateral negotiations of the United States with forty-seven of the sixty-one independent states of the world. The greatest amount of space is given to China (civil war, Sino-Soviet conflict over China's eastern railway, relinquishment of extra-territorial rights, treaty tariffs), Nicaragua (United States intervention), and Canada (liquor smuggling, fisheries, boundary waterways). As in the volumes for 1928 no negotiations are recorded with Argentina.

The historian and student of international law and politics is always grateful for the many documents that the State Department chooses to print. In the multifarious diplomatic activities of modern times the printed portion of the expanding total requires ever greater space, although we do not know what fraction of the whole is represented by the printed documents and we may wonder what the principles of selection are. These 1929 volumes do not reveal the criteria. There is no editorial preface, no explanation of any kind.

Yale University

SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS

AMERICAN DIPLOMACY IN ACTION: A SERIES OF CASE STUDIES.

By *Richard W. Van Alstyne*, Professor of History, Chico State College, California. Foreword by Graham H. Stuart. (Stanford University: Stanford University Press, 1944. Pp. xvi, 760. \$5.00.)

THESE "case studies" dispense with a general framework of chronology in order to focus attention on the evolution of policy. This device of treatment squeezes the precedential substance out of history and puts it significantly together, to give the book a real topical interest and an unusual value for interpreting the present.

Mr. Van Alstyne finds that American diplomacy has responded to the three concepts of security, expansion, and neutrality. The "cases" center upon those incidents which, in the author's judgment, shaped and clarified those concepts. This use of historic material to exhibit the evolution, or dissipation, of ideas avoids the common temptation of mistaking acts of state or political emotions for the voice of God. It produces a panorama of maturing development. On an early page it is shown that the United States never was and never intended to be isolated; on a final one that neutral rights "were nothing but a boomerang in the great struggle of the 20th century." The author concludes "that the United States is

ripe for a completely integrated system of world security" and ready to take a responsible part in it. The record is enhanced by a frank, perspicacious narrative in a style smooth, direct, and accurate in the adjectives, which flavor and point up the inner meaning of the facts.

The three major concepts are pursued in eleven of their phases, dealt with in fifty-three chapters, held together by introductory interpretations and sectional prefaces.

"Security and the Monroe Doctrine" hold the author's attention through twenty-nine chapters and more than half of his pages. Continental security has preoccupied the American mind from the establishment of the Old Northwest to the occupation of Iceland. Isthmian security and policing in the Caribbean, which concerned us for less than a century, developed into a policy of hemispheric security, culminating in the solidarity of the good neighbors. The doctrine of collective security, born in the war of 1914-18 and taking form in the League of Nations, is followed through its contradictory American course into the present war, which is its exhibit A. Three chapters in this part strip the glamour from "freedom of the seas."

"Expansion and the concept of manifest destiny" are discussed in fifteen chapters devoted to aspects of continental, Caribbean, and Isthmian expansion and expansion in eastern Asia and the Pacific. The subjects of some of these chapters cover, from a different angle, the same ground as in the preceding part.

"Neutrality and isolation" fill nine chapters devoted to the phases of foreign enlistment, impressment and the right of search, and finally neutrality and belligerent control of commerce. The author counts neutrality as dormant since 1918, and dismisses the 1935-39 legislation simply as an obscuration of the American public vision toward the events leading to the present war.

Other concepts which motivate United States foreign policy—the legal order, humanitarianism, championship of independence for peoples—are only incidentally referred to. Another set of case studies might well be undertaken to spell out their meaning and effect on the whole pattern of United States diplomatic activity.

Washington, D. C.

DENYS P. MYERS

McCARTHY OF WISCONSIN. By *Edward A. Fitzpatrick*, President of Mount Mary College, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1944. Pp. x, 316. \$3.50.)

CHARLES McCarthy is a legendary figure in Wisconsin; he was something of a legend prior to his untimely death in 1921. Son of an immigrant shoe worker, he became adviser to presidents, creator of new social and political techniques. Best known as founder of the Wisconsin Legislative Reference Library and the legislative reference and research movement, his range of interests was astonishingly broad. No problem of political or social life was too big or too small for him

to tackle. He made contributions to constitutional law and he organized co-operatives for marketing butter. Before economic planning became a current concept, he induced the Wisconsin legislature to establish a state board of public affairs to plan development of the state's resources, to promote "better business, better farming, better living." He worked out the problems of practical administration for most of the social legislation for which Wisconsin became famous. A forerunner of the New Deal, he was a braintruster for the LaFollette movement, a Bullmooser with Theodore Roosevelt, a New Freedom Democrat with Woodrow Wilson. Football coach, historian, professor of political science, and practical politician and economist, he pioneered in university extension work, and he devised the state system of continuation schools for the "educationally disinherited in Wisconsin."

Fighting ill health most of the time that he was performing herculean tasks, McCarthy was a strange figure to his contemporaries. He worked his way through Brown University as a stagehand in a local theater. Slight of build and with none of the physical attributes of an athlete, he became the university's football hero by the power of his spirit. Just as he had to overcome the coaches' doubts of his athletic ability, so he had to struggle with the faculty's skepticism as to his scholarship. One of the men he early convinced was the head of the history department, Professor J. Franklin Jameson, who gave him then and later understanding friendship and support. He chose his own courses, and acquitting himself excellently in these, he disregarded the fixed college curriculum. There was reluctance to graduate him with a B.A. degree; but thirteen years later the university awarded him an LL.D. at the same time that it so honored Chief Justice White of the Supreme Court of the United States. He directed the research of Wilson's Commission on Industrial Relations in 1914, worked with Hoover in the Food Administration, and with the Army to build soldier morale in World War I. Legends began to grow about McCarthy and his accomplishments, some implying malevolent methods and powers.

Dr. Fitzpatrick's biography lays the foundation for understanding this strange and brilliant personality. It brings together with sympathy and understanding the record of McCarthy's life and work, his contributions to the progress of Wisconsin and his influence on the liberal movements of the nation. Something of the spirit of McCarthy emerges from the facts of this record, but the personality is hazy, the lines of the figure blurred. Dr. Fitzpatrick was perhaps too closely associated with McCarthy to have the necessary perspective to give us a clear picture of the personality, the mind that was the man McCarthy. Again and again Fitzpatrick feels it necessary to defend McCarthy against criticism which often took the form of calumny. His seemingly superhuman accomplishments easily led to misunderstanding. But McCarthy needs no defense. He needs to be explained so that people will understand him. The overwhelming confidence of the man that enabled him to do so much in spite of odds and handicaps appeared egotistical

to many. But he was essentially a modest man. The underlying motive of his activities was the simple one of leaving "something where there was nothing."

A self-made man in the best sense of the term, McCarthy left many things where there was nothing. And the things he left were of the spirit. His contributions sprang from his personality. If the psychological approach to biography is ever useful, it is essential to understanding a character like McCarthy. He needs a psychological biography to reveal the mainsprings of his methods and his contributions to American life.

Washington, D. C.

WILLIAM M. LEISERSON

WINTER WHEAT IN THE GOLDEN BELT OF KANSAS: A STUDY IN ADAPTION TO SUBHUMID GEOGRAPHICAL ENVIRONMENT. By *James C. Malin*, Professor of History, University of Kansas. (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press. 1944. Pp. 290. \$3.00.)

THIS study is part of a research program dealing with farm operator analysis and adaptation of agriculture to a subhumid environment in several representative regions of Kansas. Its focus is Riley, Geary, Dickinson, and Saline counties, a transition area from the bluestem pasture region to wheat country, in the years prior to 1901-1902. The material is organized under three headings: "Beginnings"; "The Soft Winter Wheat Boom, 1872-1882"; and "The Emergence of the Hard Winter Wheat Regime, 1883-1902."

The first winter wheat was planted in Geary County in 1855, but throughout the early years more spring wheat was grown than winter wheat. Prior to the Civil War the demands of commerce and of army supply created a sellers' market, in which corn, hay, and livestock dominated. With the coming of the railroad, to Lawrence in 1864 and to Denver in 1870, however, a change became apparent, and the pendulum began to swing away from the stockman toward the small farmer. Most of the pioneer farmers tended to perpetuate the pattern of agriculture they had learned in other areas, though the newspapers and some leading citizens emphasized the need for adapting farming to the Kansas environment. There was some search for drought-resistant crops, but the process of adaptation to environment was necessarily slow. By 1872, in the upper Kansas Valley, soft winter wheat was a leader, a position it maintained during the ensuing decade. Far-reaching changes which were destined to influence the future course of Kansas agriculture occurred during the 1870's. Among these were the introduction of a new hard wheat and of new varieties of sorghums, the appearance of alfalfa, and the adoption of new machinery. At least three headers were in use in Saline County in 1874. This machine, says Professor Malin, "should always be identified with the Plains region." Much of the speculative spirit was in evidence, a fact which resulted in a considerable turnover of farm operators. In general the average farmer gave little thought to the matter of the ideal size of farm unit suited to

the region. His main goal seemed to be to secure as much land as possible. The search for substitutes—silk, hemp, cotton, flax, millet, and other crops—continued by experimentation, especially in the years of damage caused by drought or insects. The years 1883–1902 completed the transition from soft to hard winter wheat. By 1898 Turkey wheat was accepted as “our standard hard wheat.” It required years of advertising and selling, however, to make a place in the market for Kansas flour. In the late 1870’s listers, “the first significant new tillage tool introduced into the Prairie-Plains region and developed there,” were in use in Kansas. Grading, marketing, and pricing problems are not discussed.

Agricultural historians will welcome this study. Many similar ones are needed. Some readers will challenge the author’s position favoring “the common people following their instincts” against the advice of experts and will disagree with his laissez-faire philosophy. Had the university at Lawrence and the agricultural college at Manhattan been on the same campus, the author might have been exposed to a differing view. None can deny that he provokes thought. Most of the data were gathered from early Kansas newspapers, and little attempt was made to portray the position of Kansas in the perspective of the larger picture of United States agriculture. At first glance the illustrations appear to be more suitable for a technical bulletin, yet they are valuable for the person unfamiliar with the details of farm implements. The type is exceptionally readable. A few errors escaped the proofreader: sorghum, seventies, man, and occasion are misspelled on pages 23, 45, 93, and 162, respectively. The lack of uniformity in the length of the chapters and the grouping of the footnotes at the back of the volume detract somewhat from a work of this kind.

Naval Preflight School, Iowa

MERRILL E. JARCHOW

THE DISAPPEARING DAILY: CHAPTERS IN AMERICAN NEWSPAPER EVOLUTION. By *Oswald Garrison Villard*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1944. Pp. vii, 285, x. \$3.50.)

For a great many years Villard has been respected for his liberal outlook on journalism and his clear-eyed appraisals of American newspapers. *The Disappearing Daily* is a bewildering reversal of his old-time form. The hard truth may as well be stated at once: With the exception of a few excellent chapters, several of which are taken from his earlier *Some Newspapers and Newspapermen*, the volume under review is biased, inconsistent, and uncritical.

The fatal shortcomings of the book result from a pattern of political and social attitudes which are allowed to overwhelm the author’s objectivity. While his nineteenth century brand of liberalism is not a fetish which will bother the reader greatly, although it colors his writing, his pacifism and his unyielding antagonism to Roosevelt and the New Deal so obscure his judgment that many of the essays in his book are simply myotic tracts or propaganda pieces. Occasionally a glint of

his earlier thinking is revealed, as for example in the essay on the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, but his comments on the McCormick-Patterson press and other journalistic manifestations are (to use the softest indictment this reviewer is capable of) anile.

Credit Villard with a sincere opposition to all war. But he naively allows himself to join up with reactionary isolationism apparently without seeing that McCormick-Patterson Toryism is not pacifism. Villard has warm praise for the isolationist press, although he does save a shred of his critical faculty by paragraphs of criticism of the methods of Colonel McCormick. Even then he blows so hot and cold that the reader is at the mercy of his inconsistencies. Every publisher and paper that opposed our entry into either World War I or World War II receives a garland of posies. Every newspaperman or daily that warned against the Central Powers or the Axis is either omitted from mention or receives reproof for its interventionist attitude. Too often Villard is applauding an isolationist-reactionary, forgetting his old liberal tenets.

The New York *Daily News* of Joseph Medill Patterson is described as having "solved well the problem of producing a decent, intelligent honest newspaper for the masses." According to the former editor of the *Nation*, the *Daily News* expresses informative and intelligent opinions on its editorial page. In fact, there is no stopping the paper; "the bitter hatred of the Washington Administration and its great following and the warmongers affects it not at all." Approvingly, Villard says it has probably the largest circulation in the world. No doubt this proves something, but he hasn't convinced this reviewer that the news in the Patterson journal "is on the whole adequate." Confessing that the paper shortage helped the paper "along the road to better taste and standards," Villard cites the following evidence: The paper dropped such features as "How He Proposed," "Embarrassing Moments," beauty and love answers, one comic strip, all comic-strip overlines, and so on. A magnificent stride toward the higher cultural level!

The *Daily News* "no longer plays up the nude female form." Score again for the paper! But although "it has emphasized sex less and less . . . it still delights in a nice, big sex murder." Sex murders are in; ordinary sex stories are out. Another star in the crown of the *Daily News*!

To get on to more significant Villardiana, it is significant that the paper's anti-Roosevelt and isolationist policy has so bemused the newspaper analyst that he offers this gem: "The *Daily News* does not crusade or undertake deliberate propagandizing." Can Villard have overlooked Patterson's attacks on lease-lend or on Willkie, "the Republican Quisling," or on Great Britain, advised by the *Daily News* before Pearl Harbor to settle with Germany on "the best terms possible"? Has he overlooked the series of Batchelor cartoons, the skull-faced whores labeled "World War I" and "World War II" portrayed in the act of seduction of Uncle "Sap" (Sam) and American youth?

Can it be that Villard's so frequent reference to James O'Donnell, Washington

bureau chief of the *Daily News*, is a confession of an uneasy conscience? O'Donnell, it seems, "has earned the especial dislike of Mr. Roosevelt because of his searching criticism of the President himself" (p. 105). "Many readers [of the Washington *Times-Herald*] seek the column of John O'Donnell, Mr. Roosevelt's pet hate among the correspondents" (p. 192). Villard says O'Donnell is a "desirable astringent to those of the Roosevelt 'fellow travelers,'" and while he recalls that Roosevelt awarded, through another correspondent, the German Iron Cross to O'Donnell, he overlooks the fact that the *Daily News* man in June, 1943, wrote as a plain statement of fact that contraceptives and prophylactic equipment were to become government issue for the WAC, a story denounced as false by Director Oveta Hobby and denied in a formal statement by Secretary Stimson.

A mild opening begins the chapter on "Colonel McCormick and the Chicago *Tribune*," and in fairness to Villard it must be said that he makes no such apologies for them as he does in the case of Patterson and the *Daily News*. "There was nothing unpatriotic or un-American in the Chicago *Tribune's* desire to keep the country out of the second World War," nor can the *Tribune's* report of the disposition of Japanese battleships at Midway be regarded as improper. Nevertheless, Colonel McCormick sometimes uses freedom of the press illiberally and "has none too great a regard for the truth." The author returns to his old-time attitude when he remarks, "On international questions the *Tribune* has generally been cynical, reactionary, militaristic, and jingo." But this is not quite up to the vigorous criticism of the *Tribune* written by Villard in an older day: "It is foremost in its brazenness, it is unsurpassed in the brutality of its use of power, and there are few equal to it in the unChristian spirit of its editorial page."

Villard frankly states his attitude toward Roosevelt. He is entirely opposed to F.D.R.'s continuance in office; Roosevelt has abused his power; Roosevelt's administration has been full of absurdities, inconsistencies, faults in administration; and apparently Villard approves the view that the President in peacetime committed acts of war. Villard digresses to remark that Mrs. Roosevelt's newspaper column is "an incredibly banal, mawkish, and disingenuous diary." There never was such a violent *volte-face* as that of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch's* support of Roosevelt in 1940 after its "able and unanswerable editorials had heartened the anti-war forces all over the country."

In 285 pages there is one oblique comment on the early phases of the New Deal which may be counted as favorable and there is a complimentary reference to Roosevelt's termination of the use of force in the Caribbean. Villard justly reproves the President, in our opinion, for the unjustified use of the censorship at the International Food Conference and on other occasions. But Villard generally views Roosevelt with a jaundiced eye, on one count no doubt because the President favored a strong anti-Axis policy which Villard apparently feels brought us into the war. We can surmise also that the author fears a New Deal program because it does not conform to old-fashioned liberalism.

It is a bit confusing to read equal praise for the late Paul Y. Anderson of the *Post-Dispatch* and his managing editor, O. K. Bovard, on the liberal side, and Frank Gannett, the chain publisher, on the conservative. It will be recalled that Gannett organized the National Committee to Uphold Constitutional Government. Regarding the conservative New York chain owner, Villard says that if Gannett seems not always to work for the progress of all the people, "it must again be charged to his temperament, perhaps to his associations with the men of whom he sees the most, rather than to any deliberate espousal of non-progressive doctrines or policies."

Among the columnists who do useful service "because of their independence," Villard mentions Paul Mallon, Mark Sullivan, and Ray Tucker, the latter a bitter critic of the New Deal, incidentally; perhaps even more critical than Sullivan. The late Ray Clapper gets no praise. The names of Marquis Childs and Ernest K. Lindley do not appear. There is an implication on page 76 that Walter Winchell should be horsewhipped.

Among the chapters that reveal Villard at his old-time best are those on the Washington newspapers, the New York *Herald Tribune*, the *Christian Science Monitor*, and the aforementioned *Post-Dispatch*. Villard regrets that the *Monitor* "has leaned to the side of war and American participation in it." One of the most intelligent analyses of the action brought by the government against the Associated Press is contained in *The Disappearing Daily*. The criticisms of slackness in present-day reporting and editing of domestic news is justified.

The book gets its title from the first chapter which discussed the trend toward newspaper mergers and one-publisher communities.

University of Minnesota

RALPH D. CASEY

IDEAS IN AMERICA. By Howard Mumford Jones, Dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Harvard University. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1944. Pp. xi, 304. \$3.00.)

Ideas in America is a collection of nine occasional addresses and four independent essays published within the last ten years by Howard Mumford Jones. In the present volume they are grouped under three heads: "The Need for Literary History," "Studies in the History of Ideas in America," and "The Responsibilities of Contemporary American Literature."

Dean Jones's qualifications for writing on such comprehensive themes are marked and manifold: a broad experience in the United States including connections with seven far-flung universities; a sense for regional conditions and a disregard for regional resentments; wide reading; intense industry; an assimilative mind; a crusading spirit; and a gift for expression. He tends to be ponderous and pontifical among fellow students; he is at his best as a scholar-evangelist before the laity.

Thus the discussions on literary history, its needs and its nature, sweep through the past and pile up the sweepings, with convincing statistics, abundant references, and over-abundant quotation—in two instances more than a third of the text—leaving the reader with the feeling that though it's done, now it's done, 'twere well were it done more quickly. But in the final quintet of addresses on the responsibilities of literature the dean drops his gown, frees his arms, and lets his sentences resound. How consciously Emersonian these utterances are one may only guess. The first of them makes its explicit acknowledgment in its title, "The American Scholar Once More," and in various allusions. The second mentions Emerson twice, the third three times; the fourth likewise, including "I am glad they will preserve the Old Manse, but who will preserve Emerson?" and the fifth is recurrently marked by the Emersonian idiom in such passages as this:

Young men are sick and weary waiting for a moral leadership that nowhere appears. . . . The same persons who are daily outraged by events in China, Finland, Germany and Spain deny the possibility that morality exists, and do not see that they are inconsistent. The world is very evil, the times are waxing late. But the world has always been evil, sometimes more and sometimes less, and it is always too late. Men of conviction, however, also come too early and are therefore misunderstood and martyred, but I am not interested in the precise position of the hour hand on the clock. I observe rather that refugees are still arriving in Boston Harbor because, with all its clouds and darkness over it, they still believe in the promise of American life. The New England village stands white and clean, like other mortuary monuments, but at any rate it stands, and the steeple on the empty church points unwaveringly upward. All that is lacking is a speaker, a congregation, and a burning word. I call for a statement of human integrity.

It is a good idiom, and this is a good book, better and better as it approaches its eloquent conclusion on "the height of our great opportunity."

Mystic, Connecticut

PERCY H. BOYNTON

YANKEE FROM OLYMPUS: JUSTICE HOLMES AND HIS FAMILY. By Catherine Drinker Bowen. An Atlantic Monthly Press Book. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1944. Pp. xvii, 475. \$3.00.)

It is dangerous to publish historical novels, or even novelized histories, like Mrs. Bowen's *Yankee from Olympus*, about heroes whom living people knew to walk the earth as natural men. *Yankee from Olympus* is a vivid and often a suggestive popular romance about the Holmes family, its nineteenth century life in Cambridge and Boston, and particularly about that prince of the law, Mr. Justice Holmes. But it is full of reconstructed personal anecdotes, heroic or intimate or both, which have the unmistakable touch of legend. Some of them—the story of Holmes's being pushed by his uncle into a proposal of marriage, for example—are almost certainly the invention of one or another of Mrs. Bowen's informants. The result is that her book cannot satisfy the inner circle of Holmes's friends.

Their reaction is bound to weaken the impact of a lively story about a great man and a great career.

As Mrs. Bowen herself carefully explains, her primary concern is not with law, philosophy, and public affairs, the chief content of Holmes's public life. Her interest is in Holmes's personal development and in the broad spectacle of his career. Without being ruthlessly psychiatric, she tries to interpret Holmes's difficult and many-sided personal history, indicating what she believes were the deep emotional issues focused in his relations with his father and his wife. On the other side, she presents Holmes's share in the work of his world as part of a Van Wyck Brooksian pageant of recent social and cultural history, evocative and plausible, though hardly final in its judgments of his accomplishment as judge and teacher of law.

Perhaps the best chapters in Mrs. Bowen's chronicle are those on Holmes's effort to establish himself after his return from the Civil War, a wounded and rather depressed veteran. He entered the Harvard Law School, without any apparent reason for the choice, except perhaps that his father, according to Mrs. Bowen, was unenthusiastic about it. There followed a passionate quest for salvation through scholarship which turned out to be one of the decisive factors in his life. As law student, practicing lawyer, legal editor, and law professor, Holmes was a living part of the intellectual revolution of the late nineteenth century. One of a fruitful group of young Harvard intellectuals, he brought to the study of law the big questions of method and purpose, and especially the sense of science and history, which were the yeasts of every other branch of scholarship in that period. It took Holmes fifteen years of hard work to formulate his philosophy of law as an object of study, and as part of the process of social development. His basic tools of analysis had to be shaped as he used them. The law itself, ossified, anti-intellectual, practical, and conservative, was a stubborn and resisting field in which to test out the new ideas. But Holmes went at the job with vehement energy, working largely alone and at night, finding support in his occasional trips to England and in the beginning of his correspondence with Pollock. That extraordinary book, *The Common Law*, published in 1881, was the chief product of this period. It was a very great intellectual achievement, almost a tour de force. It has proved to be a continuing influence in the history of ideas, ranking with the best of Maitland, and ahead of Maine, Dicey, Pollock, and Holdsworth in the literature of law.

But the conflict in Holmes's life was not resolved. The restless soldier was not satisfied with the prospects of a career as professor of law at Harvard. "I think it is required of a man," Holmes said, "that he should share the action and passion of his time, at peril of being judged not to have lived." When the call to the bench came, Holmes did not hesitate. For almost fifty years he found his salvation, and made it, as a judge in courts of final resort, first in Massachusetts, then in Washington. And it is as a judge, and particularly as a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, that Holmes made his ultimate contributions. A judge

who was also our most vital philosopher of law, he clarified and reformulated many areas of private and public law. In this realm his achievement was great, though no greater than that of other outstanding judges. Holmes's most creative work, however, was devoted to the special problems of the Supreme Court as arbiter of the Federal system. On questions of this order, he proved to be one of the great voices of our political history, the prophet of a Constitution broad enough to permit democratic social growth, clear enough to protect the liberty of the individual.

Mrs. Bowen's book deserves its wide public. Her sketch does not pretend to be the last word on Holmes as a man, a judge, and a philosopher of law. It glosses over the harder problems, both of his personality and of his work. It does not do for Holmes what Guedalla, Strachey, or Stefan Zweig might have done. But that limitation comes squarely within the letter of the bargain. Mrs. Bowen is not trying to write intellectual history or psychoanalytical history. Her aim is more modest and more popular. What she does try, she does adequately.

Yale University

EUGENE V. ROSTOW

DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY. Volume XXI, Supplement One [to December 31, 1935]. Edited by *Harris E. Starr*. Published under the auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1944. Pp. 718. \$7.50.)

THIS is the first of a series of supplementary volumes which are to be issued at appropriate intervals in order "to maintain the Dictionary as a living and continuing enterprise of American scholarship" (preface). With a new editor in charge the same standards of excellence have been sustained as in the original work. The writing is crisp and workmanlike; the research is almost always adequate to the purpose; and typographical and other errors are few. Since the earlier volumes lacked a common terminal date, the present one seeks to remedy this fault by including the memoirs of persons previously omitted because their names chanced to fall in the part of the alphabet already covered. December 31, 1935, is now to be regarded as the concluding date of the entire *Dictionary* as thus far published. Certain departures from former practices are worth mention. The editor has adopted the sensible plan of signing the articles with the authors' names instead of initials, though, as before, the writers are not identified as to institutional connections or otherwise. The sketches also achieve a greater measure of uniformity in giving the order of birth of the subjects and in listing the names of their children.

The volume contains 652 biographies of which 39 are of women. In accordance with the plan of the original publication, it passes under review the infamous as well as the famous, running a gamut all the way from Lizzie Borden and John

Dillinger to Jane Addams and Henry Fairfield Osborn. A third and larger group of sketches deals with persons who, failing to achieve prominence in either of the above respects, have, in James Russell Lowell's phrase, hung "on the perilous edge of immortality by the nails." In saving this numerous company from "the fathomless ooze of oblivion" the supplement, like its forerunners, performs its most valuable service.

Because of the contemporaneous character of most of the material, the problems of admission and exclusion and of the apportioning of space were greater than those which confronted the editor's predecessors, but the solutions reached seem, on the whole, satisfactory. Among the persons whose omission from the book seems questionable are R. C. ("Fatty") Arbuckle (d. 1933), movie comedian; Joseph Bulova (1935), watch manufacturer; J. R. Chapman (1934), civil engineer; Maggie Cline (1934), actress; Annie Fellows Johnston (1931), author of the *Little Colonel* series; E. W. Kemble (1933), illustrator; Tom Noonan (1935), "Bishop of Chinatown," New York City; Charles King (1933), novelist; Isadore Saks (1933), New York merchant; I. J. Selznick (1933), motion-picture producer; C. W. Studebaker (1934), automobile manufacturer; and Mrs. Wilson Woodrow (1935), novelist. Users of the main work should note that the supplement contains a number of memoirs which might have had space in the earlier volumes, but which were passed over through editorial choice or inadvertence. Thus, two of the individuals here treated died in the seventeenth century; six in the eighteenth century; thirty-five in the nineteenth century; and eighteen in the first two decades of the twentieth century. The publisher might well provide a list of these anachronistic inclusions for owners of the index volume, published in 1937.

A total of 358 men and women collaborated on the present work. Dealing for the most part with people recently living, they seldom failed to take advantage of the opportunity of gathering information from relatives and friends of their subjects. Among the contributors notable for the quality and number of their articles are Irving Dilliard, Walter P. Eaton, Edwin F. Edgett, Talbot F. Hamlin, Alvin H. Harlow, John Tasker Howard, Charles O. Paullin, and Richard J. Purcell. Noteworthy sketches from other pens include "Gamaliel Bradford" by M. A. DeWolfe Howe, "Harold Hart Crane" by Frank O. Matthiessen, "George Eastman" by Blake McKelvey, "Thomas A. Edison" by Roger Burlingame, "John Grier Hibben" by J. Duncan Spaeth, "Oliver Wendell Holmes" (1841-1935) by Felix Frankfurter, "Addison Mizner" by Turpin C. Bannister, "Michael I. Pupin" by Alois F. Kovarik, and "Will Rogers" by Dixon Wecter. Nearly all the biographies of historical scholars are thoughtful appraisals, but probably most readers of this *Review* will be shocked at the large number that have died so recently. The list includes Ephraim D. Adams, James H. Breasted, Philip A. Bruce, John W. Burgess, Edward Channing, Ephraim Emerton, Carl Russell Fish, Walter L. Fleming, Archer B. Hulbert, John H. Latané, Arthur C. McGiffert,

Edmond S. Meany, Ulrich B. Phillips, William R. Shepherd, Nathaniel W. Stephenson, Lyon G. Tyler, and James F. Willard.

The American Council of Learned Societies is to be congratulated upon sponsoring this continuation of the great *Dictionary*, and the editor and his colleagues may take just pride in the way they have executed their commission.

Harvard University

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

General History

THE SHIP OF FOOLS. By *Sebastian Brant*. Translated into rhyming couplets, with Introduction and Commentary, by *Edwin H. Zeydel*. [Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies, Number XXXVI.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1944, pp. viii, 399, \$5.75.) Much credit redounds to Professor Zeydel for making available Sebastian Brant's famous *Ship of Fools* in a simple English translation. To read the original text requires more philological preparation than most students possess, and so this work was read far less than it deserved. And Barclay's English rendering possesses several defects which did not make it popular. But in this translation we have a version as clear as a translator who tries to retain the poetic form can make it. This book will prove an excellent guide for all who would study the varied aspects of late medieval life and its conception of things—a sober and truthful guide, less brilliant than the flippantly satirical Erasmus but surely more reliable. The introduction is useful not only for beginners but also for more ambitious students. Professor Zeydel correctly discusses the role of the fool in the literature of the late Middle Ages, who struts across the stage of Renaissance and becomes classic in Erasmus' *Praise of Folly*. It seems ungracious to suggest that a fuller study of the artistic forms of the closing Middle Ages might help students understand the subject better. The idea of Folly is Biblical and is illustrated by the Seven Wise and Seven Foolish Virgins sculptured on the north transept of one of the churches in Nuremburg. The ship likewise was not an unfamiliar idea. There is, for example, Giotto's Navicella, said to be copied by Boniauti in the Florentine church of Santa Maria Novella. In *Unam Sanctum* Boniface VIII mentions Noah's ark, which prefigures the universal saving church, and finally, there is the woodcut on page 331 of this book illustrating Saint Peter's Schiffliin. Memlinc, a contemporary of Brant, has made the theme famous, as all visitors to the Bruges museums recall. Everybody will thank the editor for including the original woodcuts, which, like the poem, constitute a valuable aid in forming a concrete picture of that age. "Thill" in the footnote on page 14 should be "Tiel." H. S. LUCAS

MACHIAVELLI'S *THE PRINCE*: AN ELIZABETHAN TRANSLATION. Edited with an Introduction and Notes from a manuscript in the collection of Mr. Jules Furthman by *Hardin Craig*. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, pp. xli, 177, \$3.50.) Professor Craig's publication of a sixteenth century English translation of Machiavelli's *The Prince* is an event of a good deal of interest to students of the Elizabethan age. The widespread circulation of the real or supposed ideas of that work in sixteenth century English literature, in spite of the fact that no English version of *The Prince* was published before Dacres' version of 1640, has long made the source of that knowledge a subject of speculation. The role of the libelous perversion of Gentillet in the spawning of the dramatists' Machiavel is, of course, well-known, but there is plenty of evidence of more direct and respectful acquaintance with Machiavelli's thought. Learned men would naturally find easy access to *The Prince* in the original Italian, or in well-known Latin and French translations. But the recognized addiction of the Elizabethan man of letters to linguistic short cuts long ago led Elizabethan students to suspect the existence of English translations circulated in manuscript. Machiavelli's reputation as an atheist would quite sufficiently explain the failure of such translations to find publication in the England of that time. But the fact that Professor Craig has found evidence for the circulation in considerable numbers of copies of one of the two sixteenth century translations now

known to exist indicates that confinement to manuscript circulation was under the circumstances less of a bar to influence than we now might think. The publication of the best of the manuscripts of the more popular version, the Furthman manuscript, is therefore a real aid to our understanding of the development of understanding of the political ideas of this period. The present publication is not only a careful piece of editing but an attractive piece of bookmaking. This is due both to the good taste of the University of North Carolina Press and to the restraint of the editor. The necessary historical and textual materials are given with precision, but they are kept to an adequate minimum, and they are not allowed to invade the pleasant page of the text. This is important, for this translation, a good one in the Elizabethan sense, has the color and liveliness characteristic of Elizabethan prose when it is absorbed in the business of communication. A good example is the famous and typical passage from the end of the eighth chapter. Professor Allan Gilbert in his excellent and timely version of 1941 renders it thus: "Injuries should all be done together in order that men may taste their bitterness but a short time, and be but little disturbed. Benefits ought to be conferred a little at a time, that their flavor may be tasted better." That is good, but I think the sixteenth century version is from the purely literary point of view even better: "Wherefore iniuries are to be offered all at a clappe, and that but once, that beinge seldom fealt they maybe the sooner forgotten. But benefites contrariwise muste be bestowed by little and little one after an other, that beinge often practised they may the freshlier be remembered."

HELEN C. WHITE

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE FROM 1720 TO 1734, AS REVEALED IN DISPATCHES OF THE VENETIAN BAILI. By *Mary Lucille Shay*. [Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Vol. XXVII, No. 3.] (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1944, pp. 165, cloth \$2.00, paper \$1.50.) The mass of evidence available to him threatens to overwhelm the student of modern history. The more "critical" he becomes, the greater grows the peril. Ranke took a safe step in a dangerous direction when he turned from the general narratives of earlier historians to the reports (*relazioni*) of the Venetian ambassadors. Since these reports are polished summaries prepared at the conclusion of an ambassador's mission, the insatiable modern appetite for more evidence and for evidence in a raw state leads scholars to turn now from the reports to the dispatches. In these *dispacci*, the Venetian ambassadors reported news as quickly as they learned it. They gave "blow by blow" accounts of a multitude of matters, some momentous, some trivial, and consequently the quantity of the *dispacci* is forbidding. Merely to go through and summarize in detail the dispatches of the four Venetian ambassadors at Constantinople, 1720-1734, as Dr. Shay has done—using partly the files at Venice, partly the Hiersemann manuscripts at the University of Illinois—must have been a time-consuming labor. The product is of strictly ancillary value. The statements of the Venetian ambassadors have not been compared systematically with other sources in order to weigh the evidence and reach conclusions about what happened. Many events and institutions referred to without explanation by the ambassadors are left unexplained. In short, Dr. Shay has not written any part of a history of the Ottoman Empire from 1720 to 1734, nor has she given any such penetrating analysis of its government as A. H. Lybyer achieved, partly, although by no means exclusively, from Venetian *relazioni*. Dr. Shay has attempted no such accomplishment. The work she has done seems likely to be valuable chiefly in enabling a historian to move more speedily through a particular group of voluminous source material.

FREDERIC C. LANE

THE LITERATURE OF EUROPEAN IMPERIALISM, 1815-1939: A BIBLIOGRAPHY. Compiled by *Lowell Joseph Ragatz*, Professor of History in the George

Washington University. (Washington, Paul Pearlman, 1944, pp. viii, 153, \$2.10.) This painstaking and comprehensive bibliography will be a great aid to students of European expansion into all areas of the globe. The list of books and monographs is supplemented by full references to periodical literature.

ABSTRACTS IN HISTORY, V: DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS, ABSTRACTS, AND REFERENCES, Volume III, Part II. From Dissertations for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy as Accepted by the Graduate College of the University of Iowa, 1939-1942. Edited by *W. Ross Livingston*. [Studies in the Social Sciences, Volume XI, No. 4; University of Iowa Studies, No. 404.] (Iowa City, University of Iowa Press, 1943, pp. 87-228.)

CARDINAL OF SPAIN: THE LIFE AND STRANGE CAREER OF ALBERONI. By *Simon Harcourt-Smith*. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1944, pp. xiv, 282, xv, \$3.50.) If publishers are short of paper—and the jacket says they are—a saving could have been effected by delaying, or postponing indefinitely, the publication of this volume. It is a slight book; it adds nothing to scholarship and, even as a popularization, it does not present a sufficient or adequate interpretation. To your reviewer, it is grotesquely proportioned; it is crowded with trivialities and irrelevancies; smart phrases abound, and no opportunity for a snappy story appears to have been overlooked. For all its seriousness as an explanation of the “life and strange career” of Alberoni, it might well have been entitled “Cooking and Catering One’s Way to a Red Hat.” Alberoni’s procurement of Parmesan delicacies, especially cheese and sausages, evidently opened ways to preferment and finally brought him to the care of the pregnancy diet of Elizabeth Farnese. Thus “he established and confirmed his power” (pp. 140-41). No satisfying or even plausible story is given of the rise of Alberoni to a position of influence at the court of Parma, nor of the way in which he became an intimate of the maréchal duc de Vendôme. By means of this connection he secured the Spanish entree. How he became the chief power in Spain, and a cardinal, is not at all convincingly explained. His “Colbert-like reforms” and, in fact, his relations with the government of Spain are neither accounted for nor clearly described. Much of the liberally supplied atmosphere and background for his career, generously seasoned with anecdotes and rumors, is created with lavishly drawn, general, unsupported statements. Indeed, this is irresponsible history, readable, no doubt, and possibly stimulating to those who exaggerate the dry-as-dust menace, but no substantial help to an understanding of Alberoni’s strange career. The complicated international relations of his period of power are thinly treated and are oversimplified by emphasis on his policy of friendship for Britain and a supposedly passionate desire “to drive the Germans” out of Italy. That he was not a warmonger but the innocent, peace-loving scapegoat for the restoration of peace in 1719 is the rather tortured conclusion of the argument. His reputation as the “Satanic genius of Frederick the Great’s imagination” (p. x) becomes, at the end of the book (p. 250), “the satanic figure of Dubois’ invention.”

LAURENCE B. PACKARD

LETTRES SUR L'AMERIQUE DU NORD: EXTRAITS. Par *Michel Chevalier*. Avec une introduction par *Robert G. Mahieu*. [Petite Bibliothèque Américaine, Institut Français de Washington.] (Princeton, Princeton University Press for Institut Français de Washington, 1944, pp. xx, 51, 50 cents.) This booklet is a charming and graceful piece of French propaganda. The full two volumes of Chevalier’s *Letters on North America* have long been well and favorably known to scholars as have the life and influence of their author. M. Mahieu, in his introduction to the few letters he reprints, writes delightfully but does not add materially to our knowledge. He wants us to believe that these letters, reflecting the teachings of Saint Simon through one of his

ablest disciples, would help the world to resolve its present crisis. His purpose is far from absurd, but he does not prove his case. His quotations do not show that Saint Simonism has any practical importance for us now. They merely make us wonder if M. Mahieu, or Michel Chevalier through him, is not going to lapse into something resembling "Globaloney." All this is a pity. The reviewer is convinced that Saint Simonism gave much of material value to France and much of spiritual value also and that it is of some importance still. But in a publication at this time and in this country it needs to be reinterpreted both for the present generation and for American, rather than French, readers.

ARTHUR L. DUNHAM

UNPUBLISHED AMERICAN DOCUMENTS FROM GARIBALDI'S MARCH ON ROME IN 1867. By *Howard R. Murraro*. (New York, author, 1944, pp. 8, 20 cents.)

AMERICAN LITERATURE IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND. By *Clarence Gohdes*. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1944, pp. ix, 191, \$2.50.) The subject of British criticisms of American writings before 1833 was dealt with in two monographs published by Mr. William B. Cairns in the Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature. Mr. Gohdes now carries on the story in a survey which begins with the year 1832. His approach is more varied than that of Mr. Cairns, since he discusses not only critical opinion but also the booktrade, periodical literature, American humor in England, and the popularity in England of a sample American author (Longfellow). The general picture his book presents is a double one: a tremendous popular consumption in England of American literature, coupled with an English critical estimate of American writers which was unfavorable at the beginning of the period covered but gradually improved. Many incidental points are of great interest. It is worth knowing that the early writings of Dickens were held inferior to Irving, that American writers were pirated in England as much or more than English writers over here, and that the popular enthusiasm in England for Longfellow was not altogether shared by English critics and men of letters. Mr. Gohdes is to be commended for the scope of his approach, his exactness and thoroughness in scholarship, and the interesting facts he has brought to light. His stated purpose "of proving the wide interest in American literature displayed by the English people" is fulfilled beyond a doubt. Yet some will regret that he did not go further, and try to show the influence of American ideas on English thought. He tells us with meticulous detail that American authors were widely read in England. But if this was so, they must have made some contribution to the English climate of opinion, and it would be interesting to know how great this influence was and in what way it was exerted. Within its stated limits, however, this is a careful monograph, and it will prove a convenience to other scholars. There is a useful appendix, which lists a large number of critical articles on American literature appearing in British periodicals from 1833 to 1901.

WILLIAM O. AYDELOTTE

DAS VERHÄLTNIS FRANKREICHS ZU RUSSLAND, 1871-1878. Dissertation by *Felix Büchler*. [Heft 13 der "Berliner Untersuchungen zur Allgemeinen Geschichte."] (Aarau, 1943, pp. 107.)

THE WAR, FOURTH YEAR. By *Edgar McInnis*, Associate Professor of History, University of Toronto. With an Introduction by the Right Honourable Viscount Wavell of Cereñaica and Winchester. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1944, pp. xvii, 409, \$2.50.) At the present time Professor McInnis' annual volumes are noteworthy for their excellent analysis, integration, and interpretation of often widely separated developments in this great global struggle. In time to come, however, one of their chief values to historians may well be their reflection of an intelligent and trained

observer's changing reactions to the course of events as they unfolded. When he wrote his preceding volume, for instance, Professor McInnis believed that "the prospect was in sight that the Axis would be able to create a strong if not an impregnable position; and even if they would have to renounce total victory, they might be able to force a deadlock," but when he wrote this volume he was of the opinion that Germany had "lost all hope of positive victory." He was evidently still doubtful, however, of Anglo-American ability to break through Germany's Atlantic wall. He appeared convinced that the ascendancy of the attack over the defense had been modified by the evolution of new defensive methods, and that a *blitzkrieg* on the model of 1940 would be more difficult to carry through in 1944. His volume on the fifth year of the war should clear up some of these uncertainties.

F. LEE BENNS

APPROACHES TO WORLD PEACE: FOURTH SYMPOSIUM. Edited by *Bryson, Lyman*, and others. [Publication of the Conference on Science, Philosophy, and Religion in Their Relation to the Democratic Way of Life.] (New York, Harper, 1944, pp. 991, \$5.00.) "Papers on the history and progress of democratic thought and plans for world peace by leaders in the fields of science, philosophy, and religion."

SONGS OF FREEDOM. By *J. Murray Gibbon*. [From the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Third Series, Section II, Volume XXXVII, 1943.] (Ottawa, printed for the Royal Society of Canada, 1943, pp. 77-111.)

INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS, 1943: AN ANNUAL SURVEY. Edited by *Arthur Preston Whitaker*. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1944, pp. 287, \$3.00.) "The developments made in all branches of industry and culture by twenty-two American nations in the Western Hemisphere are recorded by twelve contributors."

GLOBAL EPIDEMIOLOGY, Vol. I. By *Simmons, Whayne, Anderson, and Horack*. (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott, 1944, \$7.00.) Two more volumes to follow.

FIFTY YEARS OF BEST SELLERS, 1895-1945. Compiled by *Alice P. Hackett*. (New York, R. R. Bowker, 1944, \$2.50.) "Best seller records for each year . . . with bibliography of books, articles and other data on best sellers. . . . The author is head of the bibliographical department of *Publishers' Weekly*."

A SURVEY OF RUSSIAN STUDIES AT AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES. [Russian Economic Institute, Co-operating Institution of the Research Bureau for Post-War Economics, Pamphlet Series No. 4.] (New York, Research Bureau for Post-War Economics, 1944, pp. 12.)

ARE YOU WRITING A BUSINESS HISTORY? By *N. S. B. Gras*. [Bulletin of the Business Historical Society, Vol. XVIII, No. 4, Whole No. 109.] (Boston, Baker Library, 1944, pp. 73-110.) "The term 'business history' . . . connotes the story of the policy, management, and control that go into the production of goods and services chiefly for the making of a private profit." It is to be differentiated from "economic history," for the latter stresses the broad background of a subject or is primarily concerned with special economic problems—business cycles, the formation of capital, real wages, and the like. As a protagonist for the former approach Professor Gras has prepared a pamphlet for the use of those who have not had training in business history. He deals not only with the character of business history but with such matters as what phases of business activity to stress, where to find materials, problems of composition, and editorial review.

S. B. CLOUGH

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H. D. SHELDON. Characteristics of Colonial Cultures. *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, Sept.

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- H. M. SPITZER. Germany's Attack on America. *Ibid.*
- KNIGHT DUNLAP. The Great Aryan Myth. *Sci. Monthly*, Oct.
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T. R. S. Broughton

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¹Under this and the following headings unsigned notices are, in general, contributed by the persons whose names appear at the heads of the divisions and who are otherwise responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

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Medieval History

Bernard J. Holm

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 [Philological Monographs published by the American Philological Association, edited by T. Robert S. Broughton, Bryn Mawr College.] (Philadelphia, American Philological Association; distributed by Lancaster Press, Inc., Lancaster, Pa., 1944, pp. xxx, 68, \$1.50.)
 THE LATE LATIN VOCABULARY OF THE VARIAE OF CASSIODORUS: WITH SPECIAL ADVERTENCE TO THE TECHNICAL TERMINOLOGY OF AD-

MINISTRATION. By *Odo John Zimmermann*. [The Catholic University of America Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Latin Language and Literature, Volume XV.] (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1944, pp. xx, 277.)

ANGLIISKAIA DEREVNIA V XIII VEKE [the English village in the thirteenth century]. By *E. A. Kosminskii*. [Historical Commission of the Academy of Science of the USSR.] (Moscow, Academy of Science of the USSR, 1935, pp. 278.) This volume published in 1935 has but recently found its way to the shelves of the *Review*. An adequate appraisal could be made only by one who both read Russian and was at home in the field, a combination not represented among known available reviewers. The volume cannot be ignored for it is quite evidently an unusual study of the economic structure of the English village based on the hundred rolls of 1279 compared by elaborate computations with the descriptions in the *inquisitiones post mortem* all over England. The study deals in major part with the times of Henry III and part of the reign of Edward I. There are innumerable computations of servile payments the correctness of which is basic to the validity of the author's conclusion. There is the inevitable Marxian point of view but that can be blacked out by the scholar who is interested in the evidence and in the points where the writer supplements or corrects Vinogradov, Seebohm, and others. A second volume was planned when this was published. This note can do no more under the circumstances than call the volume to the attention of scholars especially interested in the field. G. S. F.

CALENDAR OF PLEA AND MEMORANDA ROLLS PRESERVED AMONG THE ARCHIVES OF THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF LONDON AT THE GUILDHALL, A.D. 1413-1437. Edited by *A. H. Thomas* of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, Deputy-Keeper of the City Records. Printed by order of the Corporation under the direction of the Library Committee. (Cambridge, at the University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1943, pp. xli, 369, \$3.75.) Mr. Thomas offers his fifth volume calendaring the London court rolls. The first three have been noticed previously in this *Review* (XXX [April, 1925], 635; XXXII [April, 1927], 580; XXXV [July, 1930], 832). This volume is similar in general character to the previous ones. Social and legal historians will find additional items, often quaint and lively, to fill in their picture of fifteenth century England. The political historian gets only glimpses of great events, an instance of resistance to taxation in 1420, and occasional legal disputes over prisoners' ransoms bought on speculation. There is also an inquest in 1419 relative to a man charged with saying "that taxes and tallages were falsely and unfaithfully levied from the poor and wretched people and that the king had caused liege and faithful men to be hanged and burnt and had crossed to a foreign land and there destroyed God's people, and that neither he nor any of his race had ever done otherwise." The jury refused to indict. Another case involved sharp business practice in a sale of pewter dishes "for the use of the illustrious Prince Sigismund, ever august king of the Romans, then greatly in need of a loan for the saving of his honour." Since this volume includes calendars of the Ward Presentments for 1422-1423, the editor devotes half his introduction to a history of London wards and wardmotes. The calendar itself emphasizes the persistent problem of a medieval city's inadequate means for sewage disposal. Refuse accumulated so easily "to the horribility of the whole ward," and complaints repeated over sixteen years could get no remedy. Scientists will find an interesting case involving a barber surgeon, showing the astrological trappings of a simple treatment. Antiquarians can note the earliest instance (1414) in English of the expression "Lord Mayor" of Lon-

don. American genealogists will discover that a certain Miles Standish was a London grocer in 1431. And the student of language will find a long list of unusual words.

RICHARD A. NEWHALL

GENERAL, POLITICAL, AND INSTITUTIONAL

- WILLIAM C. McDERMOTT. Gregory of Tours. *Crozer Quar.*, Oct.
 LAWRENCE S. THOMPSON. Notes on Bibliokleptomania. *Bull. New York Public Lib.*, Sept.
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MUSLIM AND JEWISH

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Modern European History

BRITISH EMPIRE

F. H. Herrick

- A SELECT LIST OF BOOKS RELATING TO THE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH
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 Association Pamphlet, No. 130.] (London, published for the Historical Association
 by P. S. King and Staples, 1944, pp. 23.) A very useful revision by Dr. W. P. Morrell
 of Leaflet No. 46, edited by the late Professor A. P. Newton.
- THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH: AN EXPERIMENT IN NATIONAL SELF-
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Marcham. [Cornell University Curriculum Series in World History, No. 5.] (Ithaca,
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- THE STORY OF THE IRISH RACE: A POPULAR HISTORY OF IRELAND. By
Seumas MacManus. [Fourth revised edition.] (New York, Neven-Adair, 1944, pp.
 750, \$3.50.) "The first regular trade edition of a book which was privately printed
 by the author in 1921. Revised to 1944."
- FRENCH CANADA: A STUDY IN CANADIAN DEMOCRACY. By *Stanley B.*
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In spite of some substantial offences against historical canons, this study is not negligible. The author, an active member of the extreme Left in Canada, is the son of an Anglo-Canadian father and a French-Canadian mother, descendants of the oldest and most antipathetic English- and French-speaking stocks in North America. The purpose of his writings has been to rouse French Canadians to recognition of the democratic elements in their tradition and to unite them with like-minded English-speaking Canadians in radical politico-economic action. By applying Marxian analysis to much of the history and present circumstances of Quebec for almost the first time, he achieves a fresh and often illuminating result which must interest any student of these matters who does not surrender to exasperation. His success is notable in the account of the conflict between liberalism and clericalism and in the demonstration, if not so convincingly in the explanation, of how French Canadians have been exploited by modern industrialization. The book is well calculated on the one hand to shock, and on the other to hold forth hope. From a social point of view, many Americans and Canadians, Anglophobes and Francophobes, might benefit by reading it. Scholars are likely to be put out by many careless errors and by some instances of perversity. Of the latter the most serious is Mr. Ryerson's uncandid use of D. G. Creighton's *The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence* (Toronto, 1937), to which he is heavily indebted but against which he warns readers by name-calling and by what seems to me to be serious distortion of Creighton's thesis. It is hard to see what worth-while object is to be gained by such tactics.

J. B. BREBNER

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FRANCE

LE COMMERCE NANTAIS ET LA PERTE DE SAINT-DOMINGUE, D'APRES UNE CORRESPONDANCE DE LA MAISON LEBOURG (1784-1800). By G. Debien. (Port-au-Prince, Imprimerie V. Valcin, 1944[?], pp. 69.) This little volume is the most recent of a notable series of contributions on early days in "France's Caribbean jewel" published of late by Professor Debien, a French national resident in Egypt. It embraces carefully edited extracts from seventy-three letters written by a leading West Indian factor in Nantes and his widow to the Marquis de Vanssay, his wife, and his mother-in-law, all of whom had wide colonial connections. The originals, preserved in the Chateau de la Barre, have not hitherto been adequately exploited. An interesting mixture of business and personal matters, these letters are unique in that they cover both economic developments and the kaleidoscopic political and social changes of the times, and they are indispensable to anyone interested in French

colonial history. Of particular value are those covering the relations between Nantes and Santo Domingo during the Revolution, a matter on which very little has hitherto been known.

LOWELL RAGATZ

THE INNOCENT EMPRESS: AN INTIMATE STUDY OF EUGÉNIE. By *Erna Barschak*. (New York, E. P. Dutton, 1943, pp. 346, \$3.50.) This is an extraordinarily irritating book. Its irritations to this reviewer were of various kinds. In the first place in a book of over three hundred pages there is an index of thirty-six names and nothing else. This is almost more French than the French. There is no bibliography, but the footnotes—at the end of the book—are supposed to remedy the deficiency. In a way they do, provided the reader can make any sense of them. By this time one is accustomed to the obscurity of *op.cit.*, but Dr. Barschak carries obscurity to the point of genius. Countless times she sets down a footnote consisting of a name plus *op.cit.* Seldom a page reference. Occasionally, when the author referred to wrote a work of more than one volume, she lists the number of the volume, no doubt to prevent the weak from faltering in midpassage. Perhaps the author faltered herself since her footnotes get fewer and barer as she approaches the end of her work. Though these criticisms are academic and technical, the serious reader is entitled to make them. The title would lead one to expect a Winchellesque peep into the boudoirs of the mighty, but there is little of that sort of thing. The author's purpose apparently was to present a psychologist's analysis of why Eugénie behaved like Eugénie. As a result there is a great deal of emphasis on such things as emotions and sympathies. Understandably enough, the sources for this type of treatment are letters, memoirs, and "souvenirs." What is missing is background, solid foundation. The author has painted a picture but the canvas is lacking. Eugénie seems to float in the air midway between heaven and earth. She never quite comes to life and never shows any thorough comprehension of the world of her day. In that sense she deserves to be styled "the Innocent Empress." Perhaps when all is said and done her greatest legacy is her hat.

C. EDEN QUANTON

FIGHTING FRANCE YEAR BOOK, 1944. (New York, France Forever, 1944, pp. 135, paper \$1.25.) "Summing up the events of the year in which the Free French Forces and all the resisting French played a part. The third year book."

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NORTHERN EUROPE

O. J. Falnes

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GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, AND HUNGARY

Ernst Posner

VON BISMARCK ZU HITLER: ERINNERUNGEN UND BETRACHTUNGEN. By Oscar Meyer. (New York, Friedrich Krause, 1944, pp. 238, \$2.75.) "A leading German politician of the Weimar Republic gives his picture of Germany's political development into National Socialism."

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ITALY

Gaudens Megaro

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RUSSIA AND POLAND

Avrahm Yarmolinsky

RUSSIA: A CONCISE HISTORY FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE STATE TO HITLER'S INVASION. By *Louis Segal*. (Forest Hills, Transatlantic Arts, 1944, pp. 262, \$3.50.)

LIFE AND CULTURE OF POLAND AS REFLECTED IN POLISH LITERATURE. By *Waclaw Lednicki*. (New York, Roy, 1944, pp. 339, \$3.50.) "A study of the national, political, and religious life of Poland during the last four centuries as reflected in the works of her writers."

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SISTER M. NEOMISIA RUTKOWSKA. John Tyssowski. *Bull. Polish Inst. Arts and Sci. in Am.*, July.

A. MANUSEVICH. K diplomaticheskoi istorii voprosa o vostochnykh granitzakh posleversal'skoi Pol'shi [a contribution to the history of the problem of the eastern boundaries of post-Versailles Poland]. *Istoricheski zhurnal*, 1944, no. 4.

HANS ROTHFELS. The Baltic Provinces: Some Historic Aspects and Perspectives. *Jour. Central Eur. Affairs*, July.

Far Eastern History

E. H. Pritchard

JAPAN'S ENTRY INTO THE WAR, 1914. By *Charles Roger Hicks*, Professor of History and Political Science, University of Nevada, Reno, Nevada. (Reno, University of Nevada Press, 1944, pp. 8.) A limited number of copies are available and may be had, gratis, on request to the author.

GATEWAY TO ASIA: SINKIANG, FRONTIER OF THE CHINESE FAR WEST. By *Martin R. Norins*. Introduction by Owen Lattimore. [Issued in co-operation with the International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations, New York.] (New York, John Day, 1944, pp. 200, \$2.75.) Of all regions on this globe the histories of which have been vital to their neighbors and to the world at large the most important and the least known is without doubt Chinese Turkestan, since 1878 called by the Chinese Sinkiang, the New Dominion. In spite of the travelogues of several observant writers,

of monographs by scientific explorers, and of the carefully preserved records of the Chinese in particular, many of which have been excellently translated, we do not have nearly enough information. The little book of Mr. Norins is a highly useful addition to the literature as it presents an up-to-date picture of the province, with enough of the background sketched in to make one aware of the area's significance. Here we learn of Sinkiang's recent relations with Russia, China, and Great Britain, of the recent governor's enlightened administration (Sheng Shih-ts'ai was recalled by Chiang Kai-shek while this book was in press), of the sudden stirring of interest amongst Chinese in the province and in its development during the war years. There are concise discussions too of the various races which make up the population and of the agricultural and mineral resources. The author has arrived at his facts only after a critical study of the best sources, mostly Chinese, and by skirting the region on the China side during the years 1939 and 1940. To his text he has appended a selection of paraphrases of a recent Chinese book, a working bibliography, and some highly interesting notes. Mr. Lattimore's introduction on Sinkiang's place in the future of China is the work of a man who has crossed the province more than once and who has given years of thought to this question; it should not be missed.

L. CARRINGTON GOODRICH

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United States History

E. C. Burnett

GENERAL

A BASIC HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. By *Charles A. and Mary R. Beard*. (New York, New Home Library, 1944, pp. x, 508, 69 cents.) We are told that 150,000 copies of this book were printed before publication. It is now being distributed as a dividend by the Book-of-the-Month Club, and has become a best seller. When this happens to a history of the United States, it is, indeed, news, and may be counted as another evidence of the widespread "interest" in American history stimulated by war-inspired nationalism and the New York *Times* survey. The Beards have done an excellent job of compression and have presented the story with clarity and in well-planned, logical outline. All teachers of American history should read it, for clarity and good organization are none too common in college and high school teaching. It does not seem to this reviewer, however, that the average layman will find it a very exciting narrative. It lacks the insistence and the dramatic qualities which make for the wider appeal. The treatment is uneven in quality. Economic history is generally handled with analytical and masterly insight. But the pages on the frontier are singularly ineffective, perhaps because of the authors' dismissal of the whole Turner thesis (p. 362). Very effective, on the other hand, are passages on the rise of industry and the class struggle. The maps are good, but the treatment of geographical background is extremely sketchy. There are few errors of fact, but it should be pointed out that the third party in 1844 was not the Free Soil party (p. 262) and *Leonidas* Polk was not elected president (pp. 187, 251, and index). It is no secret to readers of the *American Historical Review* that the Beards are against "entanglement in European affairs." Though welcoming the "Revolts against Plutocracy" and the "New Deal Uprising," they yearn for the good old days before the "Breach with Historic Continentalism." It is the treatment of foreign relations which has led some reviewers to describe the *Basic History* as as much a tract as a history. We no longer expect or desire a detached objectivity from our writers of history, but in this case, as so often, an enthusiasm has resulted in occasional mishandling of the data. It is not strictly true, for example, that President Monroe in 1823 "informed European governments that . . . the United States would not interfere in European affairs" (p. 177). Contrary to the implication on page 440, a majority of Americans appear to have favored our adhesion to the League of Nations. And was it really quite fair to say that "ardent advocates of internationalism hailed the act [the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact] as putting an end to war and guaranteeing world order"? ROBERT SAMUEL FLETCHER

LAND OF THE FREE: A SHORT HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. By *Homer Carey Hockett*, Emeritus Professor of History, Ohio State University, and *Arthur Meier Schlesinger*, Francis Lee Higginson Professor of History, Harvard University. (New York, Macmillan, 1944, pp. xxviii, 765, \$4.00.) The present volume is based upon the *Political and Social Growth of the American People*, of which Homer C. Hockett wrote the first volume and Arthur M. Schlesinger the second.

THE FAITH AND FIRE WITHIN US: AN AMERICAN CREDO. By *Elizabeth Jackson*. (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1944, pp. 187, \$2.00.) "Ideas Americans believe in, illustrated with essays, poetry, and quotations from American writers."

ESSAYS IN AMERICAN ECONOMIC HISTORY: ERIC BOLLMANN AND STUDIES IN BANKING. By *Fritz Redlich*. (New York, Fritz Redlich, distributed by G. E. Stechert, 1944, pp. v, 199, \$2.00.) The first half of this volume is devoted to Eric Bollmann, an able adventurer who lived in America from 1796 to 1814. In addition to an attempted rescue of Lafayette from an Austrian prison and participation in the Burr fiasco, Bollmann was a merchant and manufacturer in Philadelphia and at various times wrote pamphlets on the monetary and banking systems of the United States and Great Britain. One of his studies written in Austria during the Congress of Vienna had some influence on the Austrian monetary system. His economic writing, a mixture of mercantilist and classical thought, showed originality and was based on a wide knowledge of European and American monetary experience. This is the most complete and scholarly study of Bollmann in English. The rest of the volume contains three essays. The first, on "Mercantilist Thought and Early American Banking," discusses the influence of mercantilist thought on American banking and the efforts to modernize mercantilist banking to meet American conditions, that is, to make it fit the needs of farmers, mechanics, and land speculators as well as merchants. The essay "Free Banking, the History of an Idea and Its Exponents" deals with the American system of "free banking" from the 1830's to the Civil War. The author believes the system to be "one of the epoch-making achievements of American banking." The final essay traces the history of the slogan "A National Debt Is a National Blessing." These essays will interest economic historians, particularly those concerned with the history of economic ideas and their influence on American history. Among other things they show the hang-over of mercantilist thought in America after it had been largely discarded in England. HAROLD U. FAULKNER

THE INDIAN IN AMERICAN LIFE. By *G. E. E. Lindquist*, with the collaboration of *Erna Gunther*, *John H. Holst*, and *Flora Warren Seymour*. Foreword by Mark A. Dawber. (New York, Friendship Press, 1944, pp. xi, 180, cloth \$1.00, paper 60 cents.) This interesting book contains a historical sketch of the Indians from colonial times, when the race consisted entirely of full-blooded Indians, to the present, when a large majority of them are of mixed blood, many having only a small percentage of Indian ancestry. The education of the Indians was begun by Christian missionaries and extended by the Federal government. The aim of both agencies was to prepare the Indians for gradual assimilation into the civilization that surrounded them. The Indians were progressing when the change of administration in 1933 brought a change in policy. Under the new policy the Indians are segregated, tribal self-government is introduced, and old customs are revived. One serious result is the conflict between Federal laws, state laws, and tribal government. Mention is made of certain Indians serving with the armed forces in the southern Pacific who have not the right of suffrage at home. In the author's view the administration of Indian affairs in Canada is

more realistic and "provides legally for the continual seepage into the white race." Each chapter is documented and the book is provided with a chronology of Protestant missions, a selected reading list, an index, and a map showing the location of Indian tribes and reservations.

FRANCES DENSMORE

WASHINGTON AND "THE MURDER OF JUMONVILLE." By *Gilbert F. Leduc*. (Boston, La Société Historique Franco-Américaine, 1943, pp. iii, 235, \$2.25.) This is an interesting book. Few Americans know that the opening of a global war in the 1750's brought a charge of infamy similar to that associated with Pearl Harbor or the murder of the Archduke Ferdinand. For two centuries such a charge has been leveled at George Washington. It has had a peculiar recrudescence recently, especially among French Canadians, and is significant for the student of war propaganda and intellectual history. On May 28, 1754, in the wilderness of the Ohio country, Lieutenant Colonel Washington with forty Virginians made a surprise dawn attack on Ensign Coulon de Jumonville's force of thirty-four men. The latter and nine of his men were killed. The French asserted that Jumonville, though clothed with the immunity and sacred character of a diplomatic envoy, was perfidiously butchered during a treacherous massacre in time of peace. The English answered that Jumonville, masking as an envoy, was a spy who had advanced with the caution of a hidden enemy. Almost overnight, as two great empires were mobilizing, the young Virginian became known not only in the taverns of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia but also in Horace Walpole's drawing room, in Buckingham Palace, and in the chancelleries of Paris. A backwoods incident thus became part of the propaganda by which the French nation was whipped up to the fury of battle. Five years later, when France had been decisively defeated, Antoine Léonard Thomas published his epic poem, *Jumonville Poème*. In it he called on posterity to avenge what France at that time could not. French and French-Canadian writers for two centuries have often told the story as Thomas urged. Leduc has re-examined the moot question to pass definitive judgment. Though he has carried the study further than previous writers in English, his book cannot be regarded as definitive. His statement of the problem itself shows bias: whether Washington "was morally guilty of the death of the pretended French ambassador" (p. 19). Apparently he did not make an exhaustive survey of French, English, and American works published since 1754, tabulate an analysis of their treatment of the event, and in measured paragraphs synthesize this. Fundamental causes are overlooked when this wilderness skirmish is magnified by saying that the Seven Years' War grew out of it (p. i), or that this war in America "should have risen from a fatal bullet which, supposedly, was fired by the youthful Washington" (p. 18). Such statements also overlook other frontier clashes, such as the attack by Langlade on Pickawillani in 1752. The author's technique in using historical evidence is open to question. He does not go directly to the Washington Papers in the Library of Congress, or other manuscript collections, but uses indiscriminately the discredited Sparks edition of Washington's writings, the Ford edition, or the excellent Fitzpatrick edition. Neither has he explored thoroughly the archive material in London and Paris. The chief value of this volume lies in calling attention to an interesting subject that invites further study.

A. T. VOLWILER

GEORGE HENRY CALVERT: AMERICAN LITERARY PIONEER. By *Ida Gertrude Everson*, Assistant Professor of English, Wagner College. [Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature, Number 160.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1944, pp. xiv, 330, \$3.75.) A descendant of the Lords Baltimore, and, on his mother's side, of the painter Rubens through the distinguished Steier

family of Antwerp, Belgium, George Henry Calvert was one of the few Middle States gentlemen of his period to choose a life devoted to studies and literature. After boyhood on his father's Maryland plantation, he attended Harvard, visited his mother's people in Belgium, and traveled then and later in Europe, visiting Goethe and Wordsworth and making other noteworthy social and literary contacts. In this country, after a few troubled years of editorial work in Baltimore, he settled for the remainder of his long life at Newport, Rhode Island, engaging in review writing, "biographic aesthetic" studies of Goethe, Wordsworth, Rubens, and Shakespeare, verse and prose, and considerable work in social fields. While his writings were unequal to his high endeavor, he was liberal or even radical in political and religious views, an exponent of the social theories of Fourier, and, as his biographer puts it, "at least one 'genteel' writer who looked to the future rather than to the past and was able to glimpse something of a new era of economic reform." His biography has significance for its intimate picture of Maryland life in post-Revolution days; for its account of Calvert's pioneer work in German-American cultural relations—he was one of the earliest translators of Goethe and Schiller; and for its record of his many contacts with writers and movements of his time. Professor Everson handles the abundant yet scattered source material with utmost thoroughness and critical discrimination, providing an admirable example of sound and useful scholarship. The bibliography alone, including some two score volumes and innumerable magazine and newspaper contributions, covers seventeen pages.

ALLAN WESTCOTT

THOMAS JEFFERSON'S GARDEN BOOK, 1766-1824, WITH RELEVANT EXTRACTS FROM HIS OTHER WRITINGS. Annotated by *Edwin Morris Betts*, Assistant Professor of Biology, Miller School of Biology, University of Virginia. [Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society held at Philadelphia for promoting useful knowledge, Volume XXII, 1944.] (Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, 1944, pp. xiv, 704, \$5.00.) No one has ever fully realized more than Mr. Jefferson the perennial and enduring satisfaction to be obtained from the cultivation of a garden. "Such a variety of subjects," he wrote in 1811 to Charles Wilson Peale, "some one always coming to perfection, the failure of one thing repaired by the success of another, and instead of one harvest a continued one through the year." From 1766, while still a bachelor living with his mother at Shadwell, to 1824, two years before his death, Jefferson kept a garden book, which has fortunately been preserved, and is the property of the Massachusetts Historical Society. In this he recorded every sowing and planting, every blossoming and ripening, every successful crop and every failure, with much other relative detail, so that in time, as Mr. Edwin Morris Betts explains in a scholarly preface, "The book that began as a diary of the garden became a written repository for numerous interests of Jefferson. The entries range from contracts with overseers, plans for building roads and fish ponds, and observations on the greatest flood in Albemarle, to comments on Mrs. Wythe's wine and figures on the number of strawberries in a pint measure." The American Philosophical Society has now printed this garden book for the first time, with annotations by Edwin Morris Betts of the University of Virginia. The book contains 704 pages, including seven valuable appendixes, bibliographies, and an index, and is illustrated with facsimiles. The arrangement is chronological, and Mr. Betts has fully annotated the entries of each year before proceeding to the next. Mr. Betts's notes for each year are headed by an account of the state of Jefferson's life and his activities at the time, with that of members of his family. Every garden book entry is fully annotated in the greatest detail, with short biographies of every person mentioned, from the most exalted in the land to the humblest slave, translations into English of the foreign names

of flowers—under the influence of Philip Mazzei, Jefferson used many Italian names—comparison of agricultural practices in Jefferson's time with those of today and much other interesting matter. During certain years, when by reason of absence from Monticello—in Paris, or Philadelphia, or elsewhere—Jefferson was unable to keep up his garden book, Mr. Betts has continued the sequence, and starting with the details of Jefferson's life has annotated the relative entries in the account books and printed illustrative extracts from his letters. It would be impossible to overestimate the value of Mr. Betts's contribution to our knowledge of Jefferson. Only those who have done similar work can fully appreciate the scholarship and the painstaking care that have gone into this book and made it the satisfying and entertaining volume that it is. Any criticism can only be arbitrary. Appendix VII contains a list of "Books and Pamphlets on Agriculture, Gardening, and Botany in the Library of Thomas Jefferson," taken from the "Catalogue of the Library of Congress, December 1830; Catalogue, President Jefferson's Library, to be sold at auction . . . February, 1829 . . . and Jefferson's manuscript of his library, 1783." Actually the books listed in these catalogues were not all in Jefferson's library at the same time. In his political life, owing to the influence of his reading on his thought, the exact time that any book was in his library is important. In his agricultural life this knowledge is probably not so material. The manuscript catalogue of 1783 has entries until 1815, but as it recorded books Jefferson meant to procure as well as those he actually owned, it is not necessarily an accurate guide. A better one is the Library of Congress catalogue, made in 1815, immediately after the sale to Congress, and strangely omitted from this list. The books sold at auction in 1829 were purchased after 1815. The American Philosophical Society and Mr. Betts are to be congratulated on having produced one of the most fascinating and scholarly works on Jefferson that has appeared for some time.

E. M. SOWERBY

THE WAR OF 1812. By *Henry Adams*. Edited by *Major H. A. DeWeerd*. (Washington, Infantry Journal, 1944, pp. 384, \$3.00.) "Chapters taken from the nine-volume *History of the United States, 1801-1817* published by Scribner."

A LIFE OF TRAVELS: BEING A VERBATIM AND LITERATIM REPRINT OF THE ORIGINAL AND ONLY EDITION (PHILADELPHIA, 1836). By *C. S. Rafinesque*. Foreword by *Elmer D. Merrill*, Administrator, Botanical Collections, Harvard University. Critical Index by *Francis W. Pennell*, Curator of Plants, Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia. (Waltham, *Chronica Botanica*, 1944, pp. 292-360, \$2.50.)

AMERICAN CATHOLIC OPINION IN THE SLAVERY CONTROVERSY. By *Madeleine Hooke Rice*. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Number 508.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1944, pp. 177, \$2.50.) After two introductory chapters on the development of Catholic theory concerning slavery and its application in colonial America, Mrs. Rice devotes the bulk of this scholarly book to a careful analysis of clerical and lay opinion in the American slavery controversy. That her conclusions are distinguished more by their thoroughness and authenticity than by their originality is the fault only of her subject. She finds that the majority of northern clergymen, impelled by a firm determination to hold their church aloof from domestic controversy at a time when it was under nativistic attack, clung to the traditional Catholic interpretation of slavery as a legitimate, Scripture-sanctioned institution long after their fellow churchmen in Europe had discarded these outworn ideas. This stand, which placed them in opposition to all who would upset the status quo, aligned them against the abolitionists just at a time when the mass of Catholic

laymen were growing fearful of abolition for reasons of their own: apprehension lest national interference with slavery set a precedent that would allow the government to molest their church, hatred of England at a time when that nation played a leading role in the antislavery crusade, fear of the freed slave as a possible economic competitor, loyalty to the pro-Southern Democratic party, and dislike of the ultra-Protestant reformers who made up the bulk of the abolitionists. Their antiabolitionist prejudice allowed the church to be branded as proslavery, particularly after the Southern bishops employed these same arguments to defend their section's "peculiar institution." Mrs. Rice bases her conclusions on a wide reading in newspapers, diaries, and letters of both clerical and lay leaders. Her argument is convincing although the chapter on Southern lay opinion is based on insufficient evidence. The book is clearly written and well documented, and should remain the definitive work on its narrow subject.

RAY ALLEN BILLINGTON

THE VIRGIN ISLANDS AND THEIR PEOPLE. By J. Antonio Jarvis. (Philadelphia, Dorrance, 1944, pp. vii, 178, \$1.50.) This book is the work of a native high school principal who, in 1938, published an interesting *Brief History of the Virgin Islands* (St. Thomas) and who is also a poet and an artist of considerable local fame. Its object is to acquaint outsiders with the geography, the past, and the charm of America's newest Caribbean possession and to meet the familiar charge that, in adding it to our empire, we took on a poorhouse. Much is glossed over—unfavorable environment, an unstable economic regime, an unsound social order, and shocking health conditions. The book nevertheless offers the best general account of the insular group available today and merits wide use. Of particular interest to historians are the sections dealing with the arrival of French immigrants from St. Bartholomew a century ago and of Puerto Rican blacks since 1917, with marked effects on native life, and the chapter surveying the "noble experiments" marking some twenty-five years of American rule. That results have been far from satisfactory and that many islanders are bitterly resentful of the existing order is common knowledge. The author nevertheless holds that the three islands today constitute a true democracy, with control almost entirely in the hands of natives representing all social and economic groups, and denounces the "political lunatic fringe of expatriates" holding contrary views. This strikes the reviewer as not a little strange.

LOWELL RAGATZ

1ST DIVISION SUMMARY OF OPERATIONS IN THE WORLD WAR. Prepared by the American Battle Monuments Commission. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1944, pp. xi, 119.)

33D DIVISION SUMMARY OF OPERATIONS IN THE WORLD WAR. Prepared by the American Battle Monuments Commission. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1944, pp. x, 80.)

42D DIVISION SUMMARY OF OPERATIONS IN THE WORLD WAR. Prepared by the American Battle Monuments Commission. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1944, pp. x, 117.)

82D DIVISION SUMMARY OF OPERATIONS IN THE WORLD WAR. Prepared by the American Battle Monuments Commission. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1944, pp. x, 68.)

WOODROW WILSON: THE UNFORGETTABLE FIGURE WHO HAS RETURNED TO HAUNT US. By Gerald W. Johnson, with the Collaboration of the Editors of LOOK Magazine. (New York, Harper, 1944, pp. vii, 293, \$2.00.) This

reviewer will make no pretense at judging the possibilities of the medium of photographs for the execution of a biography. He must, however, note his own impression of the limitations of the medium which Mr. Johnson has used in his new biography of Woodrow Wilson. It seems difficult, if not impossible, to transmit ideas and relationships with precision through photographs; certainly it is impossible to convey a man's thought process or to present with any degree of accuracy his relation to the society in which he lives. Mr. Johnson must have chosen the medium of photographs for his biography of Wilson because he thought it well suited for arousing sympathy for the person and ideas of "the unforgettable figure who has returned to haunt us." He has succeeded admirably in reviving the personality of Wilson in a collection of about three hundred evocative photographs covering the years from 1910 to 1924. To see Wilson in candid pictures brings him back with a realism which twenty years of vindictiveness or adulation had tended to dissipate. It is difficult not to be sympathetic towards a man whose intense devotion to a desirable objective transformed him from the brisk and vigorous professor of 1910 (see p. 32) to the sharp-tempered and sick old man of 1920 (see p. 276). Mr. Johnson clearly belongs to the group who considers Wilson an American hero whose failure represents the failure of a nation. In this connection, it is important to note that Mr. Johnson shares two common fallacies: (1) that Wilson was ahead of the nation in his thinking and failed because it did not support him; and (2) that the League of Nations was a failure largely because the United States did not join it. This is not the place to establish the fallacy of those propositions. True or not, however, they lie at the root of Mr. Johnson's thinking, and they pervade both his selection of photographs and his written text. The fact that Wilson's ultimate objective was desirable does not imply that his methods were the best suited to attain his goal. Mr. Johnson's book is an effective addition to the growing literature which evokes Wilson's memory in support of the principle of international organization for maintaining peace.

WILLIAM DIAMOND

REVOLT IN PARADISE: THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION IN HAWAII AFTER PEARL HARBOR. By *Alexander Hugh MacDonald*. (New York, Stephen Daye, 1944, pp. 299, \$3.00.) "An indictment of the sugar magnates' political, economic, and social control of Hawaii up to Pearl Harbor."

MACARTHUR AND THE WAR AGAINST JAPAN. By *Frazier Hunt*. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944, pp. 190, \$2.50.) "The chronological story of the campaigns in the western Pacific from 1941 until the present as led by General MacArthur."

AMERICA AND TWO WARS. By *Dexter Perkins*. (Boston, Little, Brown, 1944, pp. vi, 213, \$2.00.) Among the many books now appearing on contemporary American foreign relations, this is one of the most satisfying, since the author brings to the subject an understanding ripened and enriched by earlier studies in the field of American diplomacy. Although Dr. Perkins does not overlook American foreign policy from 1898 to 1914, he is chiefly concerned with the period between 1914 and the present. He emphasizes interpretation rather than narration. He is concerned to extract such instruction from the past as may "light the way to wiser handling of the great issues that impend." None but a dyed-in-the-wool senatorial isolationist would quarrel with the lessons drawn by Dr. Perkins from American experience in World Wars I and II and the intervening period or with his program for peace. The controversial parts of the book are those dealing with the motivation of American entry into World War I, the part played by President Wilson in framing the Treaty of Versailles, the struggle over ratification in the Senate, America's responsibility for the

failure of the League, and the policy of the State Department toward Vichy and toward Italy since the fall of Mussolini. In discussing these topics, he presents his views with clarity and cogency while fairly recognizing and weighing other interpretations. Treatment of America's entry into World War I follows the lines laid down by Tansill, Seymour, and Newton D. Baker rather than Grattan and Beard. American collaboration with Pétain, Darlan, Giraud, and Badoglio is defended on grounds of political and military expediency. The problems raised by Franco and the Spanish civil war, however, are scarcely mentioned.

EDWARD E. CURTIS

LABOR BARON: A PORTRAIT OF JOHN L. LEWIS. By *James Arthur Wechsler*. (New York, Morrow, 1944, pp. 286, \$3.00.) "A thoroughgoing review of the career and psychology of John L. Lewis, analyzing his power and his personal contradictions."

LABOR LAWYER. By *Louis Waldman*. (New York, E. P. Dutton, 1944, pp. 394, \$3.50.) "The author, one of the founders of the American Labor party and a well-known New York City labor lawyer, incorporates in his autobiography a review of American labor and of minority political parties in the past twenty-five years."

THE WOODS HOLE MARINE BIOLOGICAL LABORATORY. By *Frank R. Lillie*. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1944, pp. ix, 284, \$4.00.) This is the history of the most outstanding co-operative biological laboratory in the world by one who has had connection with the enterprise since its earliest days. Here are set down the steps in the development of the laboratory, from the time of the establishment of the Agassiz Penikese institution through the struggles of the early days to the present, as the leading one of three laboratories of this small New England village. Here one may follow the growth of an idea originating in the mind of Charles O. Whitman, its fight for realization with the financial aid of Mr. Charles R. Crane, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Carnegie Corporation, and its final achievement. From the year 1888 the struggles of this institution are set forth in illuminating detail. In this history one may trace the evolution of the idea of co-operative effort which so strongly characterizes the ideas of this country. But it must not be thought that this idea flowered without effort or opposition. Indeed it was only by the stubborn support of Whitman that it did finally prevail. The actions of the institutions concerned are fully set forth in the book. The conditions of this representative institution are here fully stated. There are nine chapters: "The Geography and Early History of Woods Hole" by E. G. Conklin; "The Origin of Marine Laboratories in Europe and America"; "The Founding and Early History of the Marine Biological Laboratory"; "The Material Growth of the Marine Biological Laboratory"; "Policies, Organization, and Administration"; "Research at the Marine Biological Laboratory"; "The First Twenty Years"; "Four Leaders" by E. G. Conklin and Frank R. Lillie; "Community Life" by E. G. Conklin and Frank R. Lillie; "The Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution." This is a book which will be of interest, not only to biologists who have had the privilege of being members of the summer colony but also to any other group concerned with the form of organization which their institutions may take and the advance of research through co-operation.

C. E. McCLUNG

A GUIDE TO PUBLIC OPINION POLLS. By *George Gallup*. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1944, pp. xviii, 104, \$1.50.) This volume is addressed to the layman. In eighty questions and answers, Mr. Gallup tells how public opinion polls are organized and attempts to meet the criticisms most frequently made. He believes that these polls have quickened the processes of democracy and that they can "limit the claims

of pressure groups to the facts" (p. 5). Mr. Gallup points out that the validity of a poll rests not on the size of the sample but on the accuracy of the cross section as derived from census figures, election returns, departmental statistics on income, institutional reports on such items as automobile ownership, and "further data from the polling organization's own operations" (p. 30). While it is easy to determine from the returned ballots whether a given cross section meets the general requirements of the survey, it is not so clear that these requirements themselves include all the categories. Mr. Gallup emphasizes the importance of the wording of questions. At the same time, however, he tells us that "if two questions convey the same meaning—and both are expressed in a strictly neutral manner—their variations in wording produce normally, no significant difference in results" (p. 42). Obviously this is true, but is it likely that different wordings will convey invariably the same meaning? A further problem is suggested in the discussion of biased interviewers. Cantril is quoted as authority for the belief that interviewer bias cancels out. Are we to expect that each group of interviewers is itself a perfect sample? In this election year the author is wise to warn that polling machinery can give the wrong forecast in a close election. The historian will be gratified by Mr. Gallup's insistence on full background material in reporting surveys. Without such material, results can be easily misinterpreted by the public and will be valueless to the serious student. ELMER LOUIS KAYSER

A DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN POLITICS. Edited by *Edward Conrad Smith* and *Arnold John Zurcher*, New York University. (New York, Barnes and Noble, 1944, pp. vii, 358, \$3.00.) "This is the third volume that has appeared under the title, *A Dictionary of American Politics*. The first, prepared by Everitt Brown and Albert Strauss, was published in 1888. The second, almost completely rewritten from new materials and with a great increase in the number of entries, was prepared by Edward C. Smith and published in 1924. The present volume, a co-operative undertaking, is a thoroughgoing revision, with again a considerable addition to the number and scope of entries. It contains about 3,020 entries, not including cross references, as compared with 1,861 in the volume published in 1924."

RECORDS OF THE COLUMBIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WASHINGTON, D. C., 1942-1943. Volume 44-45. Edited by *Newman F. McGirr*. (Washington, published by the Society, 1944, pp. vii, 392.) The annual volumes of the Columbia Historical Society are a pleasant mixture of the reminiscences dear to old inhabitants and some papers by trained historical students. Dolly Madison is again recalled in the first group. In the second are papers by Dr. Charles O. Paullin on "Early British Diplomats in Washington," "Pioneers in the Federal Area" by Dr. Gibbs Myers, and "The Laying of the Corner Stone of the Capitol" by H. Paul Caemmerer. Few historical societies have within such a limited area such a rich and interesting field for both serious study and chatty reminiscences.

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

THE SULLIVAN EXPEDITION OF 1779: CONTEMPORARY NEWSPAPER COMMENT AND LETTERS. Part I, PRELIMINARY CORRESPONDENCE AND RAIDS; Part II, INDIAN PARTICIPANTS, BROADHEAD'S EXPEDITION, BATTLE OF CHEMUNG; Part III, BATTLE OF NEWTOWN, GENESEE—RETURN; Part IV, THE CONCLUSION AND BIBLIOGRAPHY. By *Albert Hazen Wright*. [Studies in History, Nos. 5-8.] (Ithaca, author, 1943, pp. iii, 53; iii, 50; iii, 34; iii, 9.)

AGRICULTURAL TRENDS IN THE CONNECTICUT VALLEY REGION OF MASSACHUSETTS, 1800-1900. By *Margaret Richards Pabst*. [Smith College Studies in History, Vol. XXVI, Nos. 1-4; Study VI in the Council of Industrial Study Series.] (Northampton, Smith College, 1943, pp. xiv, 138.) This scholarly monograph deals with a unique area in southern New England, a narrow strip of territory forty miles wide and about fifty miles long. The lowland townships, with their deep, fertile, alluvial soil, long growing season, and generous rainfall, have had an economic history which contrasts sharply with that of the stony and unproductive hill towns. The hill towns lost population steadily during the nineteenth century, and their agricultural output declined; the lowland towns doubled their population and farming flourished, particularly with the introduction of the specialized crop tobacco, after 1850, and onions about 1890. The differentiation, the author finds, was first noticeable in the thirty years between 1820 and 1850. Its causes were first the decline in the export of certain staples, principally salt beef and pork, bread grains and live animals to the West Indies and, second, the rise of markets for foodstuffs in the new industrial communities which were growing up in the valley and in neighboring parts of south-

ern New England. The author is to be complimented on her painstaking collection of data from both published and unpublished sources, the latter including church records, local assessors' records, and census schedules. Her method of procedure was to classify the seventy-two townships of the valley into three groups—hill towns, lowland towns, and industrial towns—and then to select two towns from each group for detailed study. The results show striking contrasts in the rate of population growth, in age grouping, in agricultural production, and in real estate values. The dominant influence of the market made it possible for the farmers in the lowlands to make effective use of the superior natural advantages of their farms, advantages both of location and of climate and fertility. Their growing prosperity checked emigration and even encouraged immigration from other parts of New England, both of natives and of Irish, Poles, and others of foreign birth. Under these conditions the local pattern of agricultural development differed sharply from that of New England as a whole. For example, although generally speaking wheat by 1840 was no longer a staple crop in New England, in certain valley townships the peak of wheat production came after the Civil War. In a work of such uniform excellence it is disappointing to find the author giving currency (p. 92) to an unfounded generalization. The Polish immigrants, she finds, did not replace native labor in the cultivation of tobacco and onions because the latter lacked stamina or determination to undertake arduous physical labor. The true explanation, I believe, is economic, not biological. No doubt there were some shiftless and puny natives, but in general the descendants of the early settlers left their farms or sold them to the immigrants, not because they hated farming or because farm labor was too arduous. They gave it up because they could make more money doing something else. That something else often was operating machinery either on Middle West farms or in New England factories. PERCY W. BIDWELL

THE PUBLIC RECORDS OF THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT FOR THE YEARS 1783 AND 1784, WITH THE JOURNAL OF THE COUNCIL OF SAFETY FROM JANUARY 9, 1783, TO NOVEMBER 15, 1783. Compiled in accordance with an act of the General Assembly by *Leonard Woods Labaree*, State Historian. Volume V. (Hartford, published by the state, 1943, pp. xi, 356, \$5.00.) Although this volume covers the concluding months of the American Revolution and the first year after independence had been won, memorials of individuals to the General Assembly throw light on the part Connecticut and its soldiers had played throughout the Revolution. Some inhabitants of the state had remained loyal to Great Britain and, in consequence, lost their estates. A Connecticut clergyman in Nova Scotia had suffered in reverse. News of the preliminary treaty of peace had reached the Council of Safety by April 4, 1783, and Connecticut faced the problem of reorganization on a peace basis. The wartime Council of Safety came to an end; war materials and stores were disposed of; the seal of the colony was altered. The republic of Connecticut co-operated with the new government of the United States by passing an act authorizing the national congress to levy an import duty if other states would do the same and by appropriating state funds to pay its quota of the interest on the national debt. Although commissioners appointed under Article IX of the Articles of Confederation decided against Connecticut's claim to a strip of territory running across northern Pennsylvania, the state ceded its claim to land west of Pennsylvania to the United States in 1784, reserving only title to the well-known Western Reserve of Connecticut. The volume discloses the new state's struggle with a depreciated currency; its attempt to encourage genius by passing the first American copyright law; and its grant of state citizenship to the marquis de Lafayette and his son. The records have been carefully transcribed and beautifully printed. An index covers both this volume and Volume IV of *The*

Public Records of the State of Connecticut for the Year 1782, published in 1942. The volume is a fitting addition to *The Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut* and the earlier state records.

ISABEL M. CALDER

PENNSYLVANIA HISTORY. By Louise I. Capen and D. Montfort Melchoir. (New York, American Book, 1944, pp. 94, 36 cents.)

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE PROVINCE OF CAROLINA ON THE COASTS OF FLOREDA. Reproduced in facsimile with an Introduction by John Tate Lanning. (Charlottesville, Tracy W. McGregor Library, University of Virginia, 1944, pp. 23, \$5.00.) This pamphlet with its accompanying map, published in London in 1666, was designed by the lords proprietors of Carolina to stimulate settlements on the Cape Fear river and southward. Although frequently "reproduced," it is a curious fact that heretofore there has been "no edition of this rare pamphlet which has not been tampered with in some way." Moreover, it has been confused with the "Declaration and Proposealls to all yt will plant in Carrolina," issued by the lords proprietors in 1663; indeed, Hawks calls it a "second edition" of the proposals. In bringing out this facsimile, Professor Lanning has rendered a double service to American scholars by making available a complete and accurate reproduction of this rare item of Americana and by clearing up Hawks's error, although Professor Lanning pessimistically believes that the error is "so thoroughly planted in authorities and catalogues . . . that the most indisputable evidence will probably never be sufficient to put an end to it." He prefaces his edition with a bibliographical note on previous reproductions and an

introduction tracing the origin of the pamphlet. After three years of discouraging efforts, the lords proprietors had finally succeeded in settling the boundaries of their grants of 1663 and 1665 and in clearing away certain legal "technicalities" that clouded their title and by 1666 were in a position to face "with imagination the realistic aspects of planting colonies." Hence this "anonymous pamphlet" which Professor Lanning calls a "fundamental bit of promotion literature." While the scope of the *Brief Description* embraces the whole province of Carolina, it is an account "More particularly of a New-Plantation begun by the English at Cape-Feare, on that River now by them called Charles-River, the 29th of May. 1664." The facsimile is beautifully printed and, it is superfluous to say, ably edited. R. D. W. CONNOR

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

OLD WORLD WISCONSIN: AROUND EUROPE IN THE BADGER STATE. By *Fred L. Holmes*. (Eau Claire, E. M. Hale, 1944, pp. 368, \$2.50.) The author is a veteran Wisconsin journalist and attorney, who probably knows his state as well as any living person. He combines the seasoned reporter's experience in observing facts and eliciting information with a deep-seated love of Wisconsin and its people, about whom he has written several previous books. *Old World Wisconsin* contains the fruits of long-continued travels over the state in the course of which its many alien groups of people were assiduously visited and interviewed and their characteristics industriously noted down for use in writing the future volume. Perusing it, we find an astonishing number of European nationalities and races who have established colonies in Wisconsin, in which the cultural atmosphere of the homeland is preserved more or less fully. Beginning with the oldest group, the French Canadian, and ending with a brief chapter on the Yankee element, a score of different transplanted European nationalities are described. Although alien tongues and customs slowly vanish, the author's narrative abundantly establishes that there is no quick or easy amalgamation of cultures via the once prevalent theory of the "melting-pot." More than five hundred years ago in old Glarus an attempted Austrian ambush of a Swiss church congregation was frustrated by a woman. In New Glarus, Wisconsin, the memory of her deed was kept alive until World War I by all the male worshipers remaining standing in their places until the women had filed out of the church. This is a friendly, informal, and revealing recital of "Old World Wisconsin," whose interest is enhanced by many illustrations. It should be included in the luggage of every visitor who tours Wisconsin.

M. M. QUAIFFE

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH ON THE KANSAS FRONTIER, 1850-1877. By *Peter Beckman*, St. Benedict's Abbey, Atchison, Kansas. (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1943, pp. 168.) This little monograph is a doctoral dissertation whose scope is indicated accurately by the title. The preterritorial Indian mission period is sketched briefly and leans heavily upon the major secondary works. The remainder is based primarily on archival materials, almost altogether Catholic. Slight use is made of the wealth of newspaper material available. The story is threefold: the activities of the regular clergy who had performed the Indian mission function and largely influenced the white frontier period, the secular clergy, and the schools. The educational program looms relatively large in this treatment. The church history is bare narrative, and enumeration, including many names and details. Only in the chapter on the great migration of 1865-1869 does the range of perspective really broaden into

social history, and even here the full possibilities of the theme are not realized. As church history in the traditional sense it seems well done. There is now a real need of historical studies dealing with the church as a social force and with the relations between Catholics and Protestants as people living together in the same society. JAMES C. MALIN

NEW MEXICO AND THE SECTIONAL CONTROVERSY, 1846-1861. By *Loomis Morton Ganaway*. [Historical Society of New Mexico, Publications in History, Vol. XII, March, 1944.] (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1944, pp. x, 140.) This study makes a contribution to the understanding of sectional politics prior to the Civil War. New Mexico, the author shows, was totally unsuited to the extension of slavery, not only because of its climate and soil but because peonage provided an abundance of cheap labor. The majority of the inhabitants had no interest in Negro slavery, but the slavery controversy between the North and the South was artificially forced upon them. This thesis is not new, for the late Professor Ramsdell brilliantly discussed the divorce between the economics of the westward expansion of slavery and the insincere use made of this issue by politicians. Mr. Ganaway has brought to the support of this thesis new evidence gathered from many sources scattered across the continent. The crux of the matter seems to be that the Southerners did not desire to extend slavery westward into unprofitable areas, but their real concern was political, to secure votes in the Senate to strengthen the proslavery defense. In the first few years of American rule the inhabitants, both natives and Americans, were opposed to extending Negro slavery into this region, but, motivated by the desire to secure Federal favors, a slave code was adopted in 1859 with only one dissenting vote. It is significant that in 1860 the census reported no slaves and only eighty-five Negroes. The most important contribution of this monograph, in the opinion of the reviewer, is the delineation of the state imperialism of Texas. Resistance to the greed of Texas to acquire New Mexican territory played an important role in the history of the territory. In the compromise of 1850, the Texan boundary issue, according to the author, was the most difficult question to settle. Texas also assumed a leading part in determining the attitude of New Mexico to secession. The native population wished to remain loyal to the Union, but the American inhabitants of the southern part of the territory, instigated by Texas, formed the territory of Arizona and were admitted into the Confederacy. The northern part of the territory, on the other hand, was held in the Union by a clever appeal to the pre-existing hatred of Texas. This able monograph provokes the thought of the tremendous influence of partisan politics in American history.

CLEMENT EATON

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Latin-American History

James Ferguson King

GENERAL

LOS ARTISTAS PINTORES DE LA EXPEDICIÓN MALASPINA. Por *José Torre Revello*. [Universidad de Buenos Aires, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Estudios y Documentos para la Historia del Arte Colonial, Vol. II.] (Buenos Aires, 1944, pp. x, 102, 45 plates.) The Spanish scientific voyage around the globe under Malaspina in 1789-94 has left us, besides its huge herbarium and other collections, a mass of sketches and paintings of historical, ethnographic, and artistic value. José Torre Revello, formerly of the Seville Archives and now for some years with the Institute in Buenos Aires, counted over four hundred of them in Seville, and there are others in Madrid. Here he publishes in excellent facsimile forty-five of the most interesting, with an exhaustive introduction, bibliography, and index. Spain is full of unpublished treasures, like Mutis' magnificent plates of Colombian plants; we must applaud scholars like Torre Revello and agencies like the Institute, who rescue some of them while there is yet time. These are especially rich in views of Buenos Aires, Patagonia, and Manila and include scenes and individuals from Uruguay, Chile, Peru, Panama, and Mexico, and one remarkably accurate drawing of insects. One of the artists, Suría, kept a journal, published by Henry R. Wagner in the *Pacific Historical Review* for September, 1936; the greatest of them, Brambila, had a distinguished later career in Spain. Ravenet and he made many sketches in New Zealand and Australia; the governor sent a number of those of Sydney to London, to show

the colony's progress; Rafael Estrada, historian of the expedition, says Ravenet's miniatures of Sydney ladies will become treasured heirlooms. This noble octavo volume, beautifully printed, does credit to its author and to the Institute.

CHARLES UPSON CLARK

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SPANISH SOUTH AMERICA

EL ECUADOR INTERANDINO Y OCCIDENTAL ANTES DE LA CONQUISTA CASTELLANA. By Jacinto Jijón y Caamaño. Volumes I and II. (Quito, Editorial Ecuatoriana, 1940, 1941, pp. 556, 555.) These are the first two volumes of a larger and definitive work by Jijón y Caamaño, Ecuador's leading student of the country's pre-Columbian history. It is an exhaustive job bringing together a large number of linguistic and ethnographic data collected over a period of thirty years. The volumes under consideration are chiefly linguistic in nature, dealing with the native tongues of Ecuador's coastal and highland tribes. Although these languages survived Incaic conquest, they were eventually suffocated under the heavy blanket of Quechua and Spanish expansion and most of them became extinct in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. After tracing pre-Incaic tribal boundaries, Sr. Jijón concentrates on rescuing the few remaining vocabularies, the identification of place names and the determination of the linguistic affiliations of these aboriginal groups. He repeats his interesting suggestion that the Puruha and Cañari languages in the highlands can be grouped with Huancavilca and Mochica on the coast to form a new and distinct linguistic block. In addition, Sr. Jijón presents the grammar and extensive vocabularies for Cayapa and Colorado, which are still spoken in Ecuador's western jungles. While not overly impressed with Jijón's determination of ethnic frontiers on the basis of place names, the reviewer thinks that the bulk of the work is an important contribution to our knowledge of aboriginal Andean languages. Historians will be particularly interested in Sr. Jijón's discussion of sources for Ecuador's pre-Columbian and early colonial history. Following in the steps of Jiménez de la Espada and Archbishop González Suárez, Jijón questions the reliability of the classic "Historia del antiguo reino de Quito" by Juan de Velasco. There seems to be little evidence for the actual existence of a Quito "kingdom" or confederacy in pre-Incaic times. The archaeological data, with which the reviewer is most familiar, fail to support the mythological account which Padre Velasco evidently accepted as fact. JOHN V. MURRA

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NATIONAL PERIOD

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* * * * *Historical News* * * * *

American Historical Association

At the annual meeting last year in New York the Council elected the distinguished Italian philosopher and historian Benedetto Croce to honorary membership. Because of war conditions in Italy, the letter to Signor Croce notifying him of his election had its own peculiar difficulties in reaching him. Finally with the aid of one of the government agencies it was put in his hands. His reply was received this fall and is given below as it came in Signor Croce's own handwriting:

SORRENTO
VILLA TRITONE
5 Agosto 1944

ILLUSTRE SIGNORE,

Con grande ritardo, cioè ora soltanto, mi giunge la sua comunicazione del passato gennaio, e perciò vorrà tenermi scusato se rispondo così tardi.

Io La prego di accogliere e di fare accogliere ai membri dell' Associazione Storica Americana i sensi della mia profonda gratitudine per avermi unito a loro come socio onorario. I nomi insigni che la sua lettera ricorda, di coloro che ebbero questa qualità—*Ranke, Stubbs, Gardiner, Mommsen, Bryce*—mi lasciano confuso e, nell' accettare la nomina, Le esprimo la mia commozione per l'onore conferitomi. Io La prego di disporre di me qui in Italia per i servigi che ancora, in questi miei tardi anni, posso rendere ai comuni nostri studii.

Mi abbia con ossequio
Dev'mo

BENEDETTO CROCE

Al ecc.
Sig^r Guy Stanton Ford
Executive Secretary
of the American Historical Association
Washington.

Other Historical Activities

Among the recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following, arranged in chronological order of materials, may be noted: thirteen pages (reproductions) of papers concerning Don Baltasar de Sotelo (from proceedings in the trial of the Sotelo brothers in the "Avila-Cortés" conspiracy in Mexico, 1557 to 1561); reproductions of manuscripts in Spanish archives of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Archivo General de Indias, Seville, and Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid), 2093 pages; papers of Jonathan Roberts, a free Negro, his descendants, and others, 1734 to 1944; journals of Christopher French, a British army officer, October, 1756, to March, 1764, and September,

1776, to November, 1778; letter from Robert R. Livingston to George Washington, relative to defense of New York City, August 9, 1776; photostats of twenty-seven letters of John Adams to Benjamin Rush and a photostat of one letter of John Adams to George Washington, 1779 to 1812; twenty-one letters from Robert Morris to Constable, Rucker and Company of New York, 1786 to 1795; additional papers of William Short, including his commissions of April 20, 1790, July 11, 1794, and September 8, 1808; authorization to borrow \$14,000,000 signed by Alexander Hamilton, September 1, 1790; a letter from Edward Everett, July 5, 1831, relative to the Phi Beta Kappa Society; photostat of a letter from George Washington to Andrew Ellicott, October 23, 1792; additional papers of Dutilh and Wachsmuth, 1792 to 1794, mainly signed statements of French refugees from the West Indies for the payment of their passage on arrival at Philadelphia; papers of Theophilus Harris, merchant and Baptist minister, 1793 to 1841 and 1934; photostats of the constitutions of Tennessee, February 6, 1796, August 30, 1834, and February 23, 1834; additional papers, mainly correspondence, of Commodore John Rodgers and his family, 1800 to 1844; thirty-one papers of Manuel Eyre, jr. (merchant, Philadelphia), relating to trade with the West Indies, 1801 to 1802, including letters of William Ashbridge, supercargo; 160 papers of McNair and Company (also variant names) relating to stagecoach routes in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Kentucky, 1802 to 1842; additional papers of Ellery Cory Stowell and other members of the Stowell and Fuller families, 1802 to 1944; additional papers of Samuel Finley Breese Morse and the Morse family, 1810 to 1866, and papers relating to the Centennial celebration, 1944; letter from Jedidiah Morse to Elizabeth A. Morse, June 1, 1824; letter from Sir Charles Richard Vaughan to Lord Charles Stuart, September 23, 1827; letter from Sir Henry Stephen Fox to Lord Charles Stuart, March 20, 1836; reproductions of account books of Franklin Arms (farmer of Conway, Massachusetts), 1839 to 1875; typewritten diary of Charles Gould of the Boston and Newton Joint Stock Association, covering a journey from Boston, Massachusetts, to California, April 16 to September 27, 1849; reproduction of letter from Nathan Bedford Forrest to Garnett Andrews, November 5, 1867; seventeen letters of John Fiske (mainly to his mother) 1868 to 1887; letter from Ulysses S. Grant to William T. Sherman, January 19, 1869; one box of additional papers of, or relating to, Benjamin Ticknor of Boston, 1870-1910 (including letters and literary manuscripts and drafts); three volumes of papers, chiefly correspondence, of Abiel Abbot Low and Brothers, New York, relating principally to trade with China and Japan, September 8, 1871, to October 6, 1873; nine papers of John Hay (mainly letters to James Redpath and James Carleton Young), 1871 to 1905; letter of John Greenleaf Whittier, enclosing four lines of verse as epitaph for the John Milton memorial window in St. Margaret's Westminster, 1887; letter from Oliver Wendell Holmes to John Burnett, June 21, 1891; seven papers of, and by, Peter M. Goldsmith, relating to Sor Juana Ines de la Cruz [d. 1895]; list (one volume) of foreign ships arriving in Portland, Maine, with

dates, number of passengers, and notes on some of the immigrants, kept by Timothy Elliott, 1898 to 1902; additional papers of the Breckinridge family, mainly letters from Robert J. Breckinridge to Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, 1915, 1935 to 1944; manuscript of "The Expanding Universe" by Sir Arthur Stanley Eddington, c. September 7, 1932; correspondence and poems of Raymond E. F. Larsson, 1935 to 1944; three additional boxes of papers of George William Norris, 1943 to 1944 (restricted); "Zur Elektrodynamik Bewegter Koerper," and "Das Bi-Vektor Feld," a manuscript copied by the author, Albert Einstein, 1943; six pages of teletype messages of the Associated Press, pertaining to Allied invasion of Normandy; papers of Judge Eugene Gano Hay (1853-1933); papers of Amos Richard Eno Pinchot (restricted); papers of Walter Francis Willcox, 1861—; additional scientific papers, with a group of poems of Waldo Lee McAtee; and manuscript signed of "Over the Hills and Far Away," poem by Eugene Field, undated.

At the time that this report goes to the *Review*, the larger part of the manuscript material evacuated for safety has been returned to the Division of Manuscripts and shelved; and it is hoped that this procedure will have been completed by December 1.

The Library of Congress is compiling for publication as complete a list as possible of books owned by Thomas Jefferson. It solicits information about the location and ownership of any such books. Identification of books from Jefferson's library can usually be made on the basis of his "secret mark." It was his custom to inscribe a "T" before the signature mark "I" or "J" in all the books with that many signatures and in larger books he also placed a "J" after the signature mark "T." Anyone having knowledge of books identifiable as belonging to Jefferson should address Randolph G. Adams, Consultant, Rare Book Division, Library of Congress, Washington 25, D. C.

The archivist of the United States has proposed that a building be constructed in the suburbs of Washington for the central housing of such records of the Federal government as are no longer needed in the offices where they accumulated but will have to be preserved, at least for a considerable period, for legal, administrative, or research uses. It is estimated that, in addition to the records now in the National Archives, there will be at least two million cubic feet of such records in existence at the end of the war, including the service records of all the men and women who will have served in the armed forces, and that less than one tenth of them could be housed in unoccupied space in the National Archives building. The proposed public records building would be a part of the National Archives establishment, but much of the space in it would be allocated to other agencies of the government for use by them in storing and servicing records that should remain in their custody for the time being. As a result of records administration pro-

grams in the War and Navy Departments for the transfer to the National Archives of all noncurrent records of enduring value, the National Archives has received in the last few months more than ten thousand cubic feet of records relating to military affairs. Included among the Navy Department records transferred are the general correspondence files of the Bureau of Aeronautics, 1930-1942, and records of the Hydrographic Office, 1854-1925. Records received from the War Department include noncurrent files, ranging in date from 1813 to 1942, from almost fifty Army posts and organizations throughout the country.

Presidential papers received recently at the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library consist chiefly of sections of the White House files relating to the Casablanca conference of January, 1943, and the President's Hawaiian Islands-Alaska trip of July-August, 1944. Additions made by the President to the Library's naval manuscript collection include a signed drawing by Robert Fulton of a torpedo designed by him in May, 1813; a "rough order book" of H. M. S. *Valiant*, May 15-June 22, 1790; and the signal log of the German cruiser *Frankfurt*, January 29-March 15, 1917. The President has also given the Library a photostatic copy of a journal of three houseboat cruises taken by him in Florida waters in 1924, 1925, and 1926 with members of his family and others.

Fred W. Shipman, director of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, who returned early last summer after completing a mission to Italy and Sicily as archival adviser to the Subcommittee on Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives of the Allied Control Commission, is undertaking a similar mission in France and other areas of Europe. During his absence from the Library, Assistant Director Edgar B. Nixon is acting director. Henry H. Eddy, archivist on the Library staff since July, 1943, has been appointed senior state archivist in the Department of History and Archives of New York State.

The Society of American Archivists met in Harrisburg on November 8-9. The first morning session considered "Historical Manuscripts and State Archives," with Christopher Crittenden, secretary of the North Carolina Department of Archives and History at Raleigh, and R. S. Williams participating. At the luncheon S. K. Stevens spoke on "Pennsylvania's Archival Program," and in the afternoon Hugh Flick and Fred Shipman discussed "Archives in Wartime." Miss Margaret C. Norton, Illinois state archivist and president of the society, addressed the dinner meeting. The morning session on November 9 was devoted to "Publication of Manuscripts" and was led by Julian P. Boyd and Clarence C. Carter. The joint dinner with the Association for State and Local History featured an address by Stanley Pargellis. The program for the archivists was arranged by Howard Peckham, of the William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Miss Norton was reelected president, Dr. Crittenden was named vice president, and Lester J.

Cappon, of the University of Virginia, and Helen Chatfield, archivist of the Treasury Department, Washington, D. C., were reelected secretary and treasurer respectively. Dr. Peckham was elected to the council for a five-year term. The council made Hilary Jenkinson of the Public Records Office, London, England, and Joaquín Llaverías, director of the National Archives of Cuba, honorary members of the society. There had previously been only two other honorary members, the President of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Victor Hugo Paltsits, keeper of manuscripts at the New York Public Library from 1914 to 1941 and a pioneer in archival science in the United States.

The American Association for State and Local History held its annual meeting in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, November 9-10.

The fourth annual meeting of the Economic History Association took place at Princeton on September 29-30. Sessions were devoted to the questions: What is Economic History? The Corporation and the Historian, The Use and Misuse of Price History, and British Foreign Investment Experience.

A new building embodying the latest scientific aids and equipment for the preservation of records is being planned in Rio de Janeiro for the Arquivo Nacional of Brazil, one of the oldest and most important archival institutions in the Western Hemisphere. For nearly forty years the Arquivo Nacional has been housed in the old National Museum building on the Plaza of the Republic. The new building, according to present plans, will be located in the same beautiful park, but will cover a much larger extent of ground.

The newly constructed building for the Archivo Nacional of Cuba in Havana was dedicated on September 23, 1944. The exercises were attended by representatives of the principal archival establishments of the Caribbean countries, including the archivist of the United States and the chief of the Division of State Department Archives of the National Archives, and the principal address was delivered by the president of the Republic of Cuba, Fulgencio Batista. The archives section of the Corporación de Bibliotecarios, Archiveros y Conservadores de Museos del Caribe held a number of sessions in Havana during the week following the dedication, and in connection with the first of these sessions the archivist of the United States presented to the Archivo Nacional of Cuba reproductions of a number of documents of Cuban interest in the National Archives of the United States and proposed the development of a comprehensive program for the exchange of reproductions of archival material among the nations of the Western Hemisphere.

Guide to the Law and Legal Literature of Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Haiti, compiled by Crawford M. Bishop, editor, and Miss Anyda Marchant, has

recently been issued by the Library of Congress. It is number three in the series of which number one is *Guide to the Law and Legal Literature of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile*, compiled by Edwin M. Borchard (1917), and number two is *Guide to the Law and Legal Literature of Mexico*, compiled by John T. Vance and completed and extended by Mrs. Helen L. Clagett. The present volume may be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., for \$1.75 a copy.

The Army War College, founded in 1794, is this year celebrating its sesquicentennial. Its library is the most complete military collection in the world and shelves at present three hundred thousand volumes, many of which are not duplicated in the Library of Congress or other large general libraries. The librarian since 1943 is Colonel A. Gibson. The collections are made available to scholars who telephone or write in advance.

The Bibliographical Society of America announces that it has received a grant large enough to enable it to prepare the manuscript of what is hoped will be a definitive short-title bibliography of American literature of the last 150 years. The scope of the project is a bibliography, with entries for each item extensive enough to identify it, of literature by significant American authors, alphabetically arranged, from the beginning of the Federal period. For the present, authors who died after 1930 will be excluded. Historians and writers of travel books will be included only if primarily of literary interest. Persons who were primarily juvenile authors, or authors of scientific and medical works, textbooks, sermons, or like material, will also be omitted.

The History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820, by Clarence S. Brigham, director of the American Antiquarian Society, is to be published in two volumes, probably sometime in March. The prepublication price is \$8.00 per set; the price after publication will be \$15.00. Subscriptions for the two volumes at the prepublication price may be addressed to the American Antiquarian Society, Salisbury Street, Worcester 5, Mass.

Another development in the bibliographical field is the proposed Dictionary of Colonial American Biography, to supplement and complement the colonial phase of the *Dictionary of American Biography*, and to be edited by Louis K. Koontz and Kenneth P. Bailey of the University of California at Los Angeles. The criterion of selection is that, to be included, an individual should have, in some way or manner, influenced the course of events. The Dictionary is not to serve as a genealogical compilation but as a series of short biographical essays on historically important men known heretofore only to the specialists in historical research. The outbreak of the American Revolution is to be used as the closing date of the Dictionary.

Fifty notebooks of Hamlin Garland, recently procured, form an important addition to the Garland collection of manuscripts and correspondence in the library of the University of Southern California.

Emeritus Professor David Savile Muzzey and Professor Allan Nevins of Columbia University have united in making a gift of five or six hundred volumes of American history to the University of Sydney in Australia as a foundation for an American collection in that institution.

Effective at once, the Illinois State Historical Society will pay \$25.00 for each full-length contribution accepted for publication in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*. By "full-length" is meant articles of five thousand words or more. In the main, articles submitted should deal with some phase of the history of Illinois, but occasionally contributions of more general interest will be welcomed. Manuscripts should be submitted to the Editor, Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, Centennial Building, Springfield, Illinois. Payment will be made upon acceptance.

Personal

Charles Oscar Paullin, of wide historical interests and authorship, died in Washington, D. C., September 1, at the age of seventy-five. Born in Jamestown, Ohio, he studied at Antioch College, Johns Hopkins, and the Catholic University, and received his doctorate at the University of Chicago in 1904. Interest in naval history followed four years of service, 1896-1900, with the Navy Department. In this field he published *The Navy of the American Revolution*, *Commodore John Rodgers, 1773-1883*, *Diplomatic Negotiations of American Naval Officers*, and several smaller monographs, besides editing many volumes of documents in naval history. The longer portion of his career (1912-1936) was spent as a staff member of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, for whose Division of Historical Research he prepared (with Frederic L. Paxson) a *Guide to the Materials in London Archives for the History of the United States since 1783*, edited an *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States*, and continued Frances G. Davenport's series of *Treaties Bearing on the History of the United States and Its Dependencies*. For his *Atlas*, in 1933, he was awarded (with John K. Wright), the Loubat Prize. He contributed many articles to the *Dictionary of American Biography*, and was active in several historical societies, serving as trustee and treasurer of the Naval History Foundation. He also lectured at the George Washington and the Johns Hopkins universities. Dr. Paullin was affable, enjoyed companionship of persons of every rank, and as a historian possessed to an eminent degree qualities of industry, of keen perception, and of sane analysis.

Douglas C. McMurtrie, the distinguished typographer, bibliographer, historian of printing, and humanitarian died September 29 in Chicago at the age of fifty-six. His publications on Gutenberg and the invention of printing were valuable additions to the literature of the subject. With equal zeal and wide command of the literature he contributed to the history of newspapers and the printing press in the United States. He was outstanding as a bibliographer in his field and his check lists of early imprints made in co-operation with the Historical Records Survey of the WPA were models. In a busy life he found time to make his own the interests and care of crippled children and disabled soldiers.

Dr. James Curtis Ballagh, professor emeritus in the University of Pennsylvania, died September 28 in his seventy-seventh year. Born in Virginia, his educational career in the field of history and politics began after he took his doctorate at Johns Hopkins University in 1895. Before that he had taught both biology and mathematics in Southern colleges. After 1895 he stayed on at Johns Hopkins, becoming a full professor of American history in 1913. In that year he transferred to the University of Pennsylvania, where he was professor and head of the department of political science until his retirement. He was the author of a *History of Slavery in Virginia* (1902), *American Foreign Policy in the Orient* (1915), and *America's International Diplomacy* (1918). He edited the letters of Richard Henry Lee and the two volumes on Southern economic history (1607-1909) in *The South in the Building of the Nation*.

Major Otis G. Hammond, for thirty-one years director of the New Hampshire Historical Society, died October 2 at the age of seventy-five. Mr. Hammond retired from office three days before his death.

Judge Robert W. Winston, lawyer, jurist, and author, died at Chapel Hill on October 14 at the age of eighty-four. Retiring from his legal career at sixty, he re-entered the University of North Carolina as a freshman to fit himself "to interpret the New South to the Nation and the Nation to the New South." In the years that followed he gained attention as the biographer of Andrew Johnson, Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee, and others.

Dexter Perkins, Watson Professor of History and head of the history department of the University of Rochester since 1925, will be the first to occupy Cambridge University's new chair of American history and institutions. He will lecture in the newly established course for the college year 1945-1946. Dr. Perkins will be on leave of absence from the University of Rochester and will leave for England October 1, 1945, returning here one year later to resume his duties.

Jennings B. Sanders, formerly head of the department of history at the University of Tennessee, has been appointed president of Memphis State College.

J. Wesley Hoffmann has been appointed head of the department of history at the University of Tennessee.

George E. Mowry, formerly of the University of North Carolina, has been appointed May Treat Morrison Professor of American History at Mills College.

Charles C. Tansill, formerly of Fordham University, is now professor of American history at Georgetown University.

Andrei Lobanov-Rostovsky of the University of California at Los Angeles, who has been teaching for the past year in the Area-Language program of the A.S.T. at the University of Wyoming, will remain at the latter institution for the present year, 1944-45, as a member of the regular faculty.

Oscar Jaszi, emeritus professor at Oberlin College, is teaching at Clark University as a visiting professor.

David K. Bjork, chairman of the department of history in the University of California at Los Angeles, has been promoted to the rank of professor.

J. O. Van Hook of the Louisiana Polytechnic Institute has been promoted from associate professor to professor of history.

John T. Horton has been promoted to professor of history at the University of Buffalo.

Fred Harvey Harrington of the University of Arkansas has been appointed associate professor of history at the University of Wisconsin, to take over the work in American foreign relations and Latin-American history.

Richard Lyle Power has been promoted to associate professor in the history department of St. Lawrence University.

William J. Schlaerth, formerly of Canisius College, has been appointed associate professor of history at Fordham University.

Daniel J. Boorstin, assistant professor of history, Swarthmore College, has been appointed visiting associate professor of history, University of Chicago.

C. Howard Hopkins, formerly chairman of the division of social science in Stockton Junior College, Stockton, California, has gone to Bangor Theological Seminary, Bangor, Maine, as associate professor of church history.

Nora Campbell Chaffin of Duke University has been appointed assistant professor of history and dean of women in Vanderbilt University.

Duncan Eldridge McBride, research assistant in the University of Chicago, has accepted a position in the history department of Frances Shimer College, Mount Carroll, Illinois.

Robert W. G. Vail, state librarian for New York, has been appointed director of the New-York Historical Society, New York City.

Arthur Franklin Zimmerman, professor of history and director of the graduate school of Colorado State College of Education at Greeley, Colorado, has been granted leave for two years to serve as educational attaché at Santiago, Chile.

Willis F. Dunbar, professor of history at Kalamazoo College, has been granted a year's leave of absence to serve as program director for two Michigan broadcasting stations.

Dorothy M. Quynn has been granted a leave of absence from Duke University to do war work during the academic year 1944-45.

Howard K. Beale of the University of North Carolina has secured a one-year extension of his leave in order to do further research on the life of Theodore Roosevelt.

Communications

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

In his article "Biography of a Nation of Joiners" (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, Oct.) Professor A. M. Schlesinger has outlined the story of voluntary associations in the United States as a central theme of social history which offers a promising and relatively untouched field of investigation. This, of itself, is a distinguished service but it is exciting to speculate if he has not, perhaps inadvertently, done much more. Possibly he has favored us with a preliminary survey of social history's Main Street down which the future investigator may stroll for his window-shopping to see what the art has to offer.

Social history badly needs such a Main Street. It is a new community in which there are numerous highways, byways, back alleys and dead-end streets. Intersections are quite fortuitous; a newcomer is presently confused and lost because there is no basic plan to the neighborhood, no central business district. More mature forms of historiography do not suffer from this handicap. Political and economic interpretations display clear guideposts which the stumbling neophyte may read and follow. Many a student does just that rather than grope his way into the uncharted maze of social history.

This discipline is today a collection of themes and topics loosely related to the

general subject of civilization. Its definition is so vague as to be practically useless as a plan of study, but we may think our way to more accurate terms if we follow the direction indicated in the "Biography of a Nation of Joiners." Civilization is by definition a matter of enlightened organization. Professor Schlesinger suggests that we study organizations. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that we have here not simply another theme but the very pulsing heart of social history. Man is political, economic, intellectual, literary, religious, moral, but in all these aspects he is social and in so far as he is civilized these interests find expression in organization. Man is civilized only in his relations with his fellows; without such relationships he is a lost soul. People associate for warmth, comfort, encouragement, security, efficiency, and fun. Much of our association has remained informal but Americans have shown a peculiar facility in organization.

Professor Schlesinger has confined his attention to voluntary associations of a more or less formal character. He has not attempted a sketch of the growth of the associative spirit in all its aspects, but he came very close to it. He was led inevitably along that path because a voluntary society is simply one which does not draw upon the funds of civil government. In fact, Professor Schlesinger's list is so long that we may easily add the few forms of association which have prevailed in America but are not mentioned in his article: the family, feudalism, the plantation, indenture and apprenticeship, civil government, the Army and the Navy, public educational systems.

There may be some others. The distinction between government supported and voluntary societies is an increasingly difficult and important one, but to make the picture of association complete we should add a third type: the informal, impromptu relationships based upon friendship and common interests. As Professor Schlesinger has so admirably pointed out, whether the object be business or pleasure, religion or reform, our projects originate in the third group, organize and move into the second group which gets things done. This "American way" faces a critical period because of the present tendency of government supported organizations to absorb the functions of the second and third groups, which have carried the main burden in our system of free enterprise.

A history of association will, of course, include all of these relationships. It will study the origin of projects, the dominant interests, ideas, and motives, the types of social organizations, where they came from, what modifications they underwent and why, the activities of all associations, growth, decay, co-operation and competition of groups, cross-fertilization of forms, ideas, and methods. The road is endless but it is clear and straight.

This road is not merely a theme or topic which we may follow; it is a main thoroughfare which intersects themes and topics. Professor Schlesinger has given us for the first time a truly social interpretation of history. Political history is man governing; economic history is man making a living; intellectual history is man thinking, and its servant, literary history, is man reading and writing; social history is man associating with man. Each successive major interpretation of history has shown a tendency to devour its antecedents; we may expect the social interpretation, in its full development to show a healthy cannibalism.

It will be a broader and more civilizing discipline than we have had before. Association has had little respect for national boundaries and the "American way" will lose some significance when we realize it has been the way of other folks, too. How often have we borrowed from abroad! How often have we shaken the fist of political isolation while we extended the right hand of fellowship in free enterprise.

If there is any substance in this line of thought, Professor Schlesinger has carried his art a long step toward definition and organization, toward maturity.

Winchester, Massachusetts

CHARLES I. FOSTER

SPECIAL NOTICE

This notice is of special and immediate concern to members and libraries interested in completing their files of the *Annual Reports* of the American Historical Association. The Government Printing Office has on hand in varying quantities surplus copies of the *Annual Report* for the following years:

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<i>Snyder</i> , THE TARIFF PROBLEM IN GREAT BRITAIN, 1918-1923, by Paul Knaplund	330
<i>Greenberg</i> , THE JEWS IN RUSSIA, by George Waskovich	331
<i>Treiman</i> , REVOLUTIONS IN RUSSIA: THEIR LESSONS FOR THE WESTERN WORLD, by Anatole G. Mazour	333
<i>Brecht</i> , PRELUDE TO SILENCE: THE END OF THE GERMAN REPUBLIC, by Veit Valentin	334
<i>Kohs</i> and <i>Skard</i> , THE VOICE OF NORWAY, by Ella Vallborg Rølvaag	336

Far Eastern History

<i>Coupland</i> , THE INDIAN PROBLEM: REPORT ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEM IN INDIA, by David Harris Willson	337
<i>Chang</i> , CHIANG KAI-SHEK: ASIA'S MAN OF DESTINY, by Mary A. Nourse	338
<i>Morus</i> , TRAVELER FROM TOKYO, by John Goette	340

American History

<i>Adams</i> , ALBUM OF AMERICAN HISTORY: COLONIAL PERIOD, by Max Savelle	341
<i>Forbes</i> , WINTHROP PAPERS, 1638-1644, by Viola F. Barnes	343
<i>Greenwood</i> , EARLY AMERICAN-AUSTRALIAN RELATIONS, FROM THE ARRIVAL OF THE SPANIARDS IN AMERICA TO THE CLOSE OF 1830, by C. Hardevy Grattan	345
<i>Cummings</i> , RICHARD PETERS, PROVINCIAL SECRETARY AND CLERIC, 1704-1776, by Carl Bridenbaugh	346
<i>Mau</i> , THE DEVELOPMENT OF CENTRAL AND WESTERN NEW YORK FROM THE ARRIVAL OF THE WHITE MAN TO THE EVE OF THE CIVIL WAR AS PORTRAYED CHRONOLOGICALLY IN CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNTS, by Walter D. Edmonds	347
<i>Haines</i> , THE ROLE OF THE SUPREME COURT IN AMERICAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS, 1789-1835, by Charles Warren	348
<i>O'Connor</i> , ORIGINS OF ACADEMIC ECONOMICS IN THE UNITED STATES, by W. R. Waterman	350
<i>Flexner</i> , STEAMBOATS COME TRUE: AMERICAN INVENTORS IN ACTION, by Carl W. Mitman	351
<i>Dunlap</i> , AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETIES, 1790-1860, by Christopher Crittenden	352
<i>Berger</i> , THE BRITISH TRAVELLER IN AMERICA, 1836-1860, by William E. Chace	353
<i>Jones</i> , RANGER MOSBY, by Conrad H. Lanza	354
<i>Brooks</i> , WALTER CLARK: FIGHTING JUDGE, by Walton Hamilton	355
<i>Wiss</i> , GEORGE FITZHUGH: PROPAGANDIST OF THE OLD SOUTH, by Broadus Mitchell	357
<i>Milton</i> , THE USE OF PRESIDENTIAL POWER, 1789-1943, by Henry R. Spencer	358
<i>Adler</i> and <i>Margalith</i> , AMERICAN INTERCESSION ON BEHALF OF JEWS IN THE DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES, 1840-1938, by Solomon Willis Rudy	360
<i>Bartlett</i> , THE LEAGUE TO ENFORCE PEACE, by Hamilton Holt	361
<i>Schriftgiesser</i> , THE GENTLEMAN FROM MASSACHUSETTS: HENRY CABOT LODGE, by Thomas K. Ford	363
<i>Diamond</i> , THE ECONOMIC THOUGHT OF WOODROW WILSON, by Frederick L. Schuman	364
<i>Bailey</i> , WOODROW WILSON AND THE LOST PEACE, by Rubl J. Bartlett	365
PAPERS RELATING TO THE FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE, 1919, by Harold S. Quigley	366
PAPERS RELATING TO THE FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1929, by Samuel Flagg Bemis	368
<i>Van Alstyne</i> , AMERICAN DIPLOMACY IN ACTION: A SERIES OF CASE STUDIES, by Denys P. Myers	369
<i>Fitzpatrick</i> , McCARTHY OF WISCONSIN, by William M. Leiserson	370
<i>Malin</i> , WINTER WHEAT IN THE GOLDEN BELT OF KANSAS: A STUDY IN ADAPTION TO SUBTUMID GEOGRAPHICAL ENVIRONMENT, by Merrill E. Jarchow	372
<i>Villard</i> , THE DISAPPEARING DAILY: CHAPTERS IN AMERICAN NEWSPAPER EVOLUTION, by Ralph D. Casey	373
<i>Jones</i> , IDEAS IN AMERICA, by Percy H. Boynton	376
<i>Bowen</i> , YANKEE FROM OLYMPUS: JUSTICE HOLMES AND HIS FAMILY, by Eugene V. Rostow	377
<i>Star</i> , DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY, by Arthur M. Schlesinger	379

Other Recent Publications

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES	382
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